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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XXXIII

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PREFACE

THIS part marks a new departure. It is the first volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri to be published on behalf of the British Academy by the Egypt Exploration Society. In 1966 the British Academy accepted as one of its major research projects the task of cataloguing and preparing for publication the unedited Greek and Latin papyri in the Oxyrhynchus collection. Its generous support, and the prospect of continuation of that support over a period of years, has made it possible to set additional technicians and staff to work on the physical preparation of the material, on the compilation of an inventory of the damped-out papyri and the formation of a corpus of photographs of them. This work is being done under the supervision of a committee of the British Academy, which has made it its business to combine effectively the resources of the Academy and the very considerable technical help and facilities offered in London by University College and in Oxford by the Ashmolean Museum (through the Grenfell and Hunt Library) and the Faculty Board of Literae Humaniores. The Egypt Exploration Society will continue to bear the cost of and take scholarly responsibility for publication. Its general editors hope to be able to recruit additional scholars for the exacting task of editing papyri, a burden which Mr. Lobel has borne too long alone. Happily he is still carrying it, and Volume XXXV, edited by him and containing some texts of lyric poetry and some texts and commentaries on Old Comedy, should be in readers' hands within a few months. Volume XXXIV, which is a mixed volume of theological, literary, and documentary papyri should also appear about the middle of 1968.

While this part is the first to be published under the new arrangement with the British Academy, it is also the last to appear with the help of a subsidy from U.N.E.S.C.O. The editors realize that C.I.P.S.H. has a duty to extend the range of its beneficiaries as widely as possible, and would like to thank it through M. Jean Ormesson for the support extended to the present series over a period of fifteen years.

The new literary contents of the present volume are principally drawn from Comedy and Menander, to which nineteen documents have been appended, the latter edited mainly by Dr. John Rea and Mr. P. Parsons. The detailed editorial responsibility is set out in the table of papyri, in which readers will

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notice the new initials L. I. and A. S. which stand for L. Ingrams and A. Świderek. The general editors have tried to secure uniformity in the presentation of texts. They have not relaxed their insistence on the use of lunate sigma in the printing of Greek, whether in literature or documents. Its use has the advantage of not prejudging a defective passage as well as the benefit of ancient authority.

The editors wish to offer special thanks to Professor E. W. Handley, to Dr. Colin Austin and Dr. R. A. Coles, and to Mr. W. E. H. Cockle for assistance of many kinds (including proof-reading) in regard to the texts of 2654–2658, as well as to those members of a Seminar held in the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London who have put forward suggestions and corrections. A special debt of gratitude is due to Dr. Austin for also preparing the index to these pieces, and to Mr. Hitchcock of University College London for splendid photographs which in more than one damaged passage led to the establishment of a satisfactory reading. Turner would like also to correct a misleading statement attributed to him in *Lustrum* 1965/10, p. 117. After a detailed study of 409 he is filled with admiration for the work of Grenfell and Hunt. On almost all occasions in 409 where subsequent editors have departed from their readings they are in error in so doing.

Other acknowledgements it is a pleasure to make are to Dr. John Rea for preparing the index to the rest of the volume, and to the Printer for his skill in dealing with an especially complex problem of composition and arrangement.

E. G. TURNER
T. C. SKEAT
*General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

December 1967

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2656 <i>Misoumenos</i>	EGT	4th cent.	15
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- II. 2655 B+C (= 409)
- III. 2655 B, col. iii (X2)
- IV. 2657 Frs. I, 3, 2662, 2663
- V. 2657 Fr. I cont., fr. 2; 2658, 2661
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXI. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ` ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (Oxford, 1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

NEW LITERARY TEXTS: MENANDER

2654. MENANDER, *Καρχηδόσιος*

Fr. i height 16 cm.

First century

A number of fragments have been combined to give parts of three successive columns of a roll. A few additional scraps, mainly containing commentary, cannot be placed. Mr. W. E. H. Cockle observed that verses 7-8 coincide with a known quotation and establish the identity of the piece. I should like to acknowledge valuable help from both Mr. Handley and Mr. Cockle in preparing this text.

The top and foot of the roll is detectable in both cols. i and ii. Twenty-three lines is therefore the height of the columns and the roll is of relatively small format. Two hands were responsible for the text. One copied col. i. 1-14 and 16 and probably col. ii. 45, and wrote formal round capitals of medium size which are narrow in relation to their height. The second hand who copied the rest wrote capitals of a less formal style, broader, squarer, and spikier than those of the first hand. Both scribes frequently add serifs at the feet and head of their strokes, and the first hand frequently links η and ν to following letters. The contrast between the two hands can be clearly seen in the formation of such letters as *alpha*, made by the first hand in tall isosceles shape, by the second normally as an equilateral; *mu* as written by the first hand consists of four tall strokes (as it were the sides of two isosceles triangles juxtaposed), as formed by the second hand, the second down-stroke and third upstroke are distinctly rounded; the *rho* of the first hand has a tiny high loop, that of the second a lower and wider roundel; the *tau* of the first hand has a straight and narrow cross-bar, that of the second is broader, and the cross-bar is begun by a stroke moving down from the left (as in Ptolemaic hands); *upsilon* of the first hand is narrow, and its vertical is straight, while that of the second hand is broader, and its vertical curves. These distinctions are set out in detail because the amount of variation is greater than can reasonably be attributed to a single hand, even allowing for changes of pen and of tempo. We can only guess at the reasons why two scribes alternated, just as we can only guess at the reason why the page in the Bodmer *Dyskolos* containing verses 850-87 is in a different hand from the rest of that manuscript.

Features in both hands look back to the Ptolemaic age: in hand one, its narrow, tall letters; in both, the detachment of the cross bar of ϵ (sometimes only a dot) from its loop; in hand two, the initial down-stroke on the cross-bar to τ , and the link-strokes of ν and η . Parallels (not very close) to the first hand are P. Lond. ii 354 (Roberts, *Greek Lit. Hands* 9a, 7-4 B.C.) and 2387; to the second P. Fay. 6 (Roberts, *ibid.* 9c) and 246 (A.D. 66) offer points of similarity. I am inclined to allocate the hands of 2654 to the first half of the first century after Christ.

omitted something. Some dislocation seems to have occurred in 20: a left-slanted stroke (resembling an iota or a grave accent) is written above the first tau of *ηπιε]ταντο*; there is no sign of anything else suprascript to its left.

21 *παρα]δοτον*: so BTWf; οὐδὲ τὸν F (exemplar illegible).

22 *αλλω]ι*: so BTWf; ἀλλὰ F (another misreading?). Above ω an ink-mark, perhaps a very prolonged serif on hypsilon of 21 *το]υτο*.

2663. PLATO, *Cratylus* 405C

6.8 × 7.8 cm.

Later second century A.D.

Part of one column from a papyrus roll of Plato's *Cratylus*. Initial traces from the next column can be seen to the right, on a level with lines 3 and 4; the inter-columnar space was c. 2 cm. The reverse is blank.

The text is written in a small upright book-hand, ornamented with hooks and oblique serifs; ε, θ, ο, and ς are tall, narrow, and angular, υ is a shallow cup on a long stem. This style, exemplified by 1082, belongs to the later second century: see P. Dura p. 69, and 2454 introduction.

Punctuation is by high and middle stop; there are several accents and one breathing; line 6 seems to have been marked with ✱. All in all the lectional apparatus is unusually full: no doubt ancient readers needed help with this difficult text, which in any case was not much read (it has not appeared on papyrus before).

The text itself offers no new readings; it confirms the antiquity of interpolations at 9-11 and 15, and in 3-4 offers the false reading of B and W with a fresh nuance.

The text is printed as it stands in the papyrus, with the addition of supplements and word-divisions. Collated with the text of L. Méridier (Budé).

1] . [. . . ο]ι [θ]ετταλοι κ[α]λουσ]ιν αυ
τον ο]ρθοτατ αν κα[λ]οιτο· ᾗ
πλ]ων γαρ φασι παντες θετ
5 τ]αλοι τουτον τον θεον δια
δ]ε το αι βόλων εγκρατης
ειναι] τοξικη· αι βαλλων
εστ]ιν· κατα δε την μουσι
κη]ν δει υπολαβειω ωσπερ
10 τον ακ]ολουθον τε και την
ακοιτ]ιν· οτι το ᾗ σημαινει
πο]λλαχου το ομου· και εν

2663. PLATO, CRATYLUS 405C

ταυ]θα την ομουπόλησιν
και] περ[ι] τον ουρανον ους
15 δη πολο]υς καλουσι· κ[αι] . .
περι τη]ν εν τη ωδη]ι αρ
μουσιαν ηδη κυμ]φ[ωσια

1] . [: a long descender, probably ωπε]ρ.

2-3 ᾗ[πλ]ων: ἀπλῶν BW, ἀπλὸν T. Boeckh restored ἄπλων from the Thessalian inscriptions. 2663 almost certainly read -ων (the trace excludes -ον and -ου); the rough breathing, as in the MSS., derives from ἀπλοῦν, but the scribe or some predecessor saw that ἀπλων here is not a case of ἀπλοῦς and accented it to make the distinction.

6 βόλων: ἀει βόλων BW, ἀειβόλων T. The acute accent in the papyrus has largely disappeared, but I cannot think what else the trace belongs to.

A letter or letters stood in the margin to the right of this line, much closer to this column than to the next. The trace (a small closed loop) suggests rho; what came below it is lost in a hole. This rho stands high in relation to line 6, and nothing can be seen on either side of it; I guess that it belongs to the monogram ϱ, marking a passage of special interest (see 2452 fr. 3, 11, note).

7 τοξικη: so BT; τοξικήσ W.

9-11 ωσπερ . . . ακοιτ]ιν: so BWT; del. Ast (the words come from 405D).

12 At the end a space filler.

13 ομουπόλησιν: I have taken the short oblique stroke above υ as a grave: in that case the scribe intended ὀμουπόλησιν as a single word. But the papyrus is broken to the left, and it might be possible to read a rather angular circumflex. ὀμοπολ- below 405D.

15 κ[αι] . . : unless the line was unusually short, we should supplement κ[αι] την περι τη]ν (so BTW; και περι τήν t, rightly).

16 περι τη]ν εν τη ωδη]ι: so BT; περι τήν ὠδήν W by parablepsy.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN
AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

2664. PROCLAMATION OF RATIONALIS AND PROCURATOR

25.5 × 15.2 cm.

c. A.D. 245/8

This important papyrus is well preserved and easily read. The right and upper margins are fully preserved, the left margin almost so; at the foot there are no signs of breakage, but the space is too narrow to prove that line 15 was the last of the column.

The text is a *programma*, issued by the Rationalis Aegypti and his assistant. It announces an imperial decision to reduce the burden of liturgies in Egypt (ll. 1-9). The details, worked out by the two officials (6), appear in an attached schedule (10-15), as in P. Cairo Isid. 1. What we have here is probably a local copy, for it omits the Latin subscription in 9. The writing is a large, bold, practised cursive of normal type: not a chancery hand.

The proclamation bears no date. But the officials who issue it belong to the reign of Philip the Arabian (1-2, note); and the reform had taken effect by 249 and 250 (SB 7634; 1284).

In the schedule as it survives three liturgical offices are named: *basilikoi trapezitai*, *bibliophylakes*, *phylarchos*. All three require metropolitans; and all three are state, rather than city, liturgies. The reform envisaged may be set out as follows:

	Before	After	
		<i>bouleutai</i>	<i>idiotai</i>
<i>bas. trap.</i>	5	2	—
<i>bibl. dem. log.</i>	5	1	1
<i>bibl. enkt.</i>	(2?)	1	1
<i>phylarchos</i>	—	—	1

The reform, that is, operates in two sectors. (1) Numbers. The five *bibl. dem. log.* represent a recent inflation; so probably do the five bankers. Both colleges are reduced to two members. (2) Qualification. *Curiales* continue to provide some officials—one in each pair of *bibliophylakes*. But *privati* contribute the other half of the pairs, and the phylarch as well.

The proclamation reflects two solutions to the problem posed by the progressive enfeeblement of the liturgical class. One solution was to spread each office over more holders: the situation which Marcellus and Salutaris presuppose. Another was to spread the burden beyond the *curiales*, to ordinary citizens of the Metropoleis: the reform which Marcellus and Salutaris propose. A third possibility was to impose office on inhabitants of the nome outside the metropolis: Septimius Severus had forbidden this procedure, but a renewed attempt was being investigated by the prefect early in the reign of Decius (SB 7696).

Form and style are of great interest. The latinized prescript and the Latin subscription look forward to the Byzantine period. The fulsome language and tone of self-exculpation recall other official utterances—the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander, P. Fay. 20, P. Cair. Isid. 1—in which a new régime rectifies the maladministration of a displaced rival.

2664 forms part of a larger design. Philip's government sought to relieve its financial straits by increasing income from the East (Zosimus 1, 20, 2), and from Egypt in particular. It established a special commission to oversee the reorganization: Marcellus and Salutaris. The commission received extraordinary powers: in 2664 it even encroaches on the authority of the prefect, by proclaiming the imperial decision under its own prescript. The aim was to restore the productivity of Egypt. Productivity depended on the land, on the transport system, and on the local administration. The régime took steps to revive agriculture and to overhaul the transport of the produce. In the administration liturgists played the largest part. Here too Marcellus and Salutaris tried to refurbish the decaying institution. They did not reduce the burdens of office; but they wanted to have them discharged more efficiently. Efficiency required a smaller number of officials, selected from a wider field; and the newly created phylarch was to oversee the selection. See *JRS* 1967 pp. 134 seqq., where Philip's policies are discussed more fully.

ἐξ αὐ]θεντείας Κλαυδίου Μ[αρ]κέλλου τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ καὶ
 Μαρκίου Σαλουταρίου [το]ῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν Σεβαστῶν
 ἢ θ]εῖα πρόνοια τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Σεβαστῶν τοὺς ἐαυτῶν Αἰγυπτίου
 5 ἀ]παντας ταῖς ἀμέτροις λε[ιτ]ουργί[αι]ς καταπονηθέντας ἐπεκούφισεν·
 π[ο]ίας οὖν λει[το]υργίας περιαι[ρ]εθῆναι ἔ[τ]αξεν ποίας τε μένειν καὶ ὅπως
 ἐπεκρεῖναμεν ὑποτέτακται, ἐξ ὧν ἅπασιν πρόδηλον ἔσται τοὺς πρὶν
 μάτην καὶ εἰκόνας ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπηρεσιῶν παρασχομέ-
 νους τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐπισειζμοῖς ἐγδοθέντας νῦν γοῦν ἀνεμποδίτως
 ἀποδεδόσθαι τῇ ἐαυτῶν γεωργίᾳ. πρόθεσ. Ῥωμαϊκά. Ὁξυρρυχείτου.
 10 εἰὲν αἱ μένουσαι λειτουργίαι·
 βασιλικοὶ τρα(πεζίται) ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἀντὶ ε⁻ β⁻
 β]ιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίων λόγων ἀντὶ ε⁻ β⁻
 καὶ ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν ἐκάστη βιβλιοθήκη ἀνὰ α⁻
 οἱ ἴσα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχόντων πάντα πράξουσι
 15 φ]ύλαρχος ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν α⁻

9 ρωμαϊκά, οξυρρυχείτου 11 τρα/ 14 ἴσα

'On the authority of Claudius Marcellus the most eminent Rationalis and Marcius Salutaris the most excellent Procurator of the emperors. The divine providence of our lords the emperors has lightened the burden of all their Egyptians who have been crushed by the innumerable liturgies. Accordingly a list is subjoined of what liturgies it fixed for abolition and which for preservation and how we determined: from which it will be clear that those who formerly performed to no purpose and as it were phantoms of such services, but were in fact given over to extortion, are now at least restored without impediment to their own farming. Display. Latin. Oxyrhynchite nome.

'The remaining liturgies are:

royal bankers, from the senate 2 instead of 5
 bookkeepers of the public accounts 2 instead of 5
 and to each archive 1 each from among the private citizens, who will do all the same duty as those from among the magistrates
 phylarch from among the private citizens 1'

1 ἐξ αὐ]θεντείας: the same heading in 1410, issued by a Rationalis of the early fourth century. The closest parallels come from P. Beatty Panop. 2, of A.D. 300: four προγράμματα of the Procurator of the Lower Thebaid (ll. 92-97, 156-60, 222-44), headed ἐξ αὐθεντείας . . . and concluding πρόθεσ (as in 2664 9). The phrase looks like a latinism: cf. *ILS* 5966 (Africa) [*termin*]i Augu[sti] positi ex auctoritate rationalium; and especially *CIL* vi 1770 ex auctoritate Turci Aproniani v.c. praefecti urbis . . . as prescript. In this, as in much else, 2664 anticipates the fourth century. But ἐξ αὐθεντείας as such was not new: P. Mich. 425, 22 (A.D. 198), in the body of a petition.

1-2 Marcellus and Salutaris appear, always as a pair, in five other documents: their orders are cited for the purchase of derelict land in 78, 15-16 and W. Chr. 375, 5-7, for the protesting of over-assessment in P. Leit. 16, 24, and for the nomination of a hyperetes in 2123. 10; and Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 3018, a list of hydremata near Hibis in the Great Oasis, is addressed to them. P. Leit. is dated A.D. 244/7, W. Chr. 375 to 246, and 2123 to 247/8: very probably, then, 2664 too belongs to the reign of the Philippi (σεβαστοὶ 2 and 3).

Stein wished to identify this procurator with the Marcius Salutaris, *vir perfectissimus*, whose views on Virgil are twice cited by Charisius: *Hermes* 63 (1928), 480.

καθολικῶν: it is clear from this document and from 2123 that even in the mid-third century the rationalis possessed the powers over liturgants which emerge more clearly under Diocletian (1509, 1204, cf. 1410). P. Beaugé 4 may belong here, if Maspéro dated it correctly (*BIFAO* 10, 153). P. Merton ii, pp. 152-3 discusses the rationalis but limits his authority unduly.

ἐπιτρόπου: two lines of argument might suggest an identification with the Procurator Usiacus. (1) It is tempting to compare Marcellus and Salutaris with Claudius Julianus and Claudius Diognetus, both of whom were active during the Severan reconstruction of Egypt. But these two never appear as a pair (in the same context, *W. Chr.* 171); Julianus was prefect, not rationalis (Rea, *La Parola del Passato* 1967 p. 1; Maehler on BGU 2024); and in any case Diognetus is nowhere named Proc. Usiacus—for the conjecture see P. Aberd. 50. 3, note. (2) In the fourth century the rationalis gives orders to various officials who now look after usiac land—a μάγειρος προιάτης and his subordinate procurator (JJP 15 (1965) 157; P. Beatty Panop. 1. 120 note; 2665; 2673), and an ἐπίτροπος δεσποτικῶν κτήσεων with more limited local competence (P. Abinn. 3. 1 note). But again these officials merely belong to the same department; they are never paired with the Rationalis as Salutaris is with Marcellus. The identification, that is, has always been uncertain; and is now the more so, since liturgies seem no direct concern of the usiac department. The other guesses look still less plausible (P. Merton ii, p. 153; Pflaum, *Proc. Équ.* 101). Was Salutaris a procurator without department—a special assistant to the rationalis with whom he is always paired?

2 and 3 Σεβαστῶν: the Philippi are so called from the start, though Philip the younger did not formally take the title of Augustus until 246.

3 εἰσπρατῶν: the same proprietary tone SB 4284; P. Cair. Isid. 1, 5.

Ἀγυπτιῶν: that is, as 10 seqq. show, the Greeks of the metropoleis. Usage here conforms to Bickermann's view (*Archiv* 9. 40 seqq.) that only the citizens of the three poleis, and possibly the katoikoi of the Fayûm, ranked strictly as Ἑλληνας. Thus in P. Col. Apokr. 6 'Alexandrians' and 'Egyptians' make up the whole non-Roman population. The non-Greeks might be distinguished from the metropolitans as 'true' or 'rustic' Egyptians: *W. Chr.* 22, 27 seqq.

4 ἐπεκούφισεν: of liturgies *IG* xiv 1078a; of taxes Ps.-Aristides xxxv 16 (the *περὶ βασιλείας*).

5 ἐ[τ]αξεν: or ἐ[δ]οξεν (Skeat). The trace is slight. I had thought that two low points of ink suggested the loop of alpha; but this may well be delusory.

6 ἐπεκρίναμεν: apparently something was left to the discretion of Marcellus and Salutaris—perhaps the distribution between *curiales* and *privati*, if (as 5 implies) the numbers had already been fixed. The verb is vague, like *decernere*: Chalon, *L'Édit de Ti. Julius Alexander* 145, n. 9.

ὑποτέτακται κτλ: an old chancery formula: *SEG* ix 8 (the Cyrene Edicts) 79 . . . ὑποτάσσειν, ἐξ οὗ δὴλον ἔσται πάντων κτλ.

7 εἰκόνας: a remarkable expression, which I can't parallel in official language. Athan. PG 27. 557 D ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ; Herodian 7, 9, 10 ἐν εἰκόνι βασιλείας τελευτήσας.

8 ἐπισειζμοῖς: not διασειζμοῖς; all the letters are certain except the unexpected ζ, and there I can think of no other letter which suits the substantial traces (unfortunately the rest of the piece offers no zeta for comparison). Presumably we must understand ἐπισειζμοῖς, an unattested verbal noun; presumably this noun comes from ἐπισείω, rather than ἐπισίζω. ἐπισείω does sometimes appear as a metaphor: (a) Suidas ἐπισείσαι ἐπενεγκεῖν (so πόλεμον *Jos. BJ* 2, 17, 3); (b) Hesychius ἐπισείων ἐκφοβεῖν ἀνατείνεσθαι (so Πέρσας *Plu. Them.* 4). The second might be in point here: the extra liturgies were mere terrorism. But clearly much of this is suspect.

9 γεωργία: i.e. normal conditions restored, cf. *W. Chr.* 19 ii 15.

πρόβες: see 1, note; normally the notice would be displayed in the metropolis only (cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2, 228). There followed Ῥωμαικά, Latin words which the scribe omitted (see, e.g., 2106 27, 2187 introduction): what were they? *legimus*, *proponatur*, the Roman date? Finally, Ὀξύρρυγχίτου: a note of the nome for which this copy of the circular was intended: similarly 1194 1 and P. Beatty Panop. p. xix: στρατηγῶ is understood with the genitive.

10-15 So far as the physical evidence goes, the list need not end with line 15: the space at the foot is too narrow to be certainly a lower margin. On the other hand, there are no clear signs of breakage.

11 ἀπὸ βουλῆς: no doubt equivalent to 14 ἐξ ἀρχόντων: see the examples (all for municipal liturgies)

collected by E. P. Wegener, *Symb. van Oven* 165. At Oxyrhynchus, we find bouleutai as bankers in 1284 19 (A.D. 250) and in 1415 26 (later 3rd cent.). In the Fayûm, an ex-gymnasiarch (or two such) fills the office in A.D. 155, an acting gymnasiarch in 194 (Frisk, *Bankakten* p. 9; *W. Chr.* 184). Presumably ἀπὸ βουλῆς here is not an innovation, but a reaffirmation of existing practice.

ἀντὶ ε-β: for Oxyrhynchus we have at least two bankers (X καὶ μέτοχ()) in PSI 1262 (A.D. 137), 96 (180), *W. Chr.* 185 (198); at least three in 61 (221); only two in 1284 (250) and 2271 (mid 3rd cent.); two δημοσίων χρημάτων τραπεζίται in P. Princ. 133 (303). For the Fayûm, at least four bankers in A.D. 155 (Frisk, *Bankakten* p. 9) and A.D. 194 (*W. Chr.* 184). The earlier colleges may indeed have had five members, but it seems unlikely—the figure in 2664 should be a temporary inflation. At any rate, the reform seems to have taken effect in Oxyrhynchus by 250.

12 ἀντὶ ε-β: normally each college of Bibliophylakes had two members: I have found no exceptions, other than the sets of three at Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 97 (713) and 99 (P. Harr. 74); *M. Chr.* 196 depends on the restoration. The college of five looks like a recent growth, as indeed the proclamation implies; the number of βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων had presumably remained at two, unless (as Skeat suggests) a line referring to them has dropped out.

13-14 ἐξ ἰδιωτῶν κτλ.: that is, one *privatus* and one *curialis* to each archive (not one *privatus* in addition to two *curiales*). At Oxyrhynchus we find a senatorial pair in A.D. 241 (2231); but the new system was already operating on 28 August 249 (SB 7634, with 1268; cf. the undated 1199). The reform continues a pre-existing process, to judge from the Arsinoite evidence: up to the late second century, Bibliophylakes are normally ex-gymnasiarchs (see the list, *Actes Oslo* 244); then the net is cast wider, to lesser municipal officers; finally, as 2664 shows, the régime had to look outside curial circles altogether. The gradual lowering of qualification, discussed by Oertel (*Liturgie* 288-9), reflects the increasing exhaustion of the middle class. The process is harder to trace at Oxyrhynchus, because documents rarely cite the previous offices of Bibliophylakes. In A.D. 272 (1264) one of a pair is an ex-gymnasiarch (restored), the other apparently *privatus*.

For the division between *privati* and *curiales* (rather than between private citizens and magistrates) cf. SB 7696. 69 ἰδιῶ[ται γίνον]ται πα[ρ'] ἡμῶν [κο]σμη[τα]ί ἢ καὶ [β]ουλε[υ]ταί; (c. 250).

15 φ[ύ]λαρχος: no other restoration seems possible. This is the earliest mention of the phylarch at Oxyrhynchus, see Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil* 16 seqq.: the office replaced that of Amphodogrammateus, last attested in 244/5, and as a new creation required no adjustment of numbers. The phylarchy concerned itself with designating to liturgies; I have suggested elsewhere (*JRS* 1967 p. 135) that it was created precisely as part of the general overhaul of liturgies which 2664 itself attests.

2665. REPORT OF PROPERTY REGISTRARS

19 × 26 cm.

A.D. 305-6

The registrars report to the prytane and two syndics that their records contain no entries relating to a man whose property has been confiscated and who has been sentenced by Satrius Arrianus, the governor of the Thebaid who appears so frequently in the martyrologies. The condemned man's name, Paul, suggests the possibility that he was a Christian and this may be another relic of Diocletian's persecution. The fact that he is described simply as 'Paul from the Oxyrhynchite nome' implies that he had attained a certain fame, perhaps mainly outside the nome, but I can find no reason for identifying him with any of the martyrs of the same name (*v. index* to H. Delehaye, *Les Martyrs d'Égypte*).

An exact parallel to the form of the document is *M. Chr.* 196, of A.D. 309 (*v. Lallemand, L'Administration*, p. 261 for the date).

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Κων[σταντίου] τῷ 5 καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῷ 5 Σεβαστῶν
 Αὐρηλίους Ἰερακί[ων] τῷ [κ]αὶ Δ[ιονυσίου] γυμν[α]σιάρχῳ βουλευτῇ
 πρυτάνι τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης
 5 Ὀξύρυγχιτῶν πόλεως καὶ ... μῶ γυμνασιάρχῳ καὶ Σαραπίωνι
 ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 Αὐρηλίους ... ν δ καὶ Ἡρακλιανὸς ἀρχιερατεύ[ε] καὶ [Ἀ]γαθίνος
 ἐξηγητῆς ἀμφοτέρου βουλευταὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως βιβλι-
 οφύλακες τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ τ[ο]ῦ φιλτάτου[ι] χαίρειν·
 10 ἐπεστ[ε]ίλατε ἡμῖν κ[ε]κελευμέναι Αὐρηλίον Ἀθανάσιον ἐπίτροπον
 τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον προσιτάτης δι' ἣν ἔγραψεν κατὰ θεῖον πρόσταγμα
 τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν βασιλέων τε καὶ Καίσαρων ἀκολουθῶν
 τοῖς ἐπιτεταμένοις πρὸς αὐτὸν γράμμασι Νερατίου Ἀπολλωνίδου τὰ ὑ-
 πάρχοντα Παύλου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξύρυγχιτου ἀποφάσει ὑποβληθέντος
 15 τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγουμένου Θεβαΐδος Κατρίου Ἀριανοῦ προσκρηθῆναι
 τοῖς τοῦ ταμίου λογισμοῖς καὶ ἐγγράφῳ ἐπιδοῦναι· ὅθεν ἐξετάσαντες
 διὰ τῶν κατακειμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλιοφυλακείοις βιβλ[ί]ων
 δηλοῦμεν τὸν Παῦλον μηδὲν κεκτηῆσθαι μηδ' ὅλως διεστρώσθαι διὰ τῶν
 κατακειμένων ἐν τοῖς βιβλιοφυλακείοις βιβλ[ί]ων μηδὲ ἐΐδέναι τὴν τού-
 20 του γυνεκα τίνα [...] τῶ μὴ φαίεσθαι τὸν [π]ρ[ο]κείμενον Παῦλον
 διεστρωμένον διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν κατακειμένων ἐν τοῖς δημ[ο]σίοις ἀρχίοις
 βιβλίων]
 (2nd hd.) ἐρρώσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι, φιλ[ί]ται
 (1st? hd.) (ἔτους) [...] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
 25 Σεβαστῶν [...]. Μαξιμίνου τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καيسάρων [

10 l. ἐπεστ[ε]ίλατε 11 προσταγ[μα] pap. 13 l. ἐπιτεθείς 14 l. ἀποφάσει 15 l. προσ-
 κρηθῆναι 16 l. ταμίου 17, 19, 21 l. κατακειμένων 17, 19 l. βιβλιοφυλακείοις 18 τῶ
 pap. 20 l. γυναίκα, προκείμενον 21 l. ἀρχίοις

'In the consulship of our lords the emperors Constantius for the . . . th time and Galerius, for the . . . th time, the Augusti.

To their well-beloved colleagues Aurelius Hieracion, also called Dionysius, gymnasiarch, senator, . . . prytane of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites and Aurelius . . . mus, gymnasiarch, and Aurelius Sarapion, . . . syndics of the same city, Aurelius . . . , also called Heraclianus, ex-chief priest, and Agathinus, exegetes, both senators of the same city, registrars of the same nome, greeting.

'You have written informing us that Aurelius Athanasius, *procurator rei privatae* in Egypt has given orders by a letter written in accordance with a divine edict of our masters the Emperors and

Caesars and in conformity with letters directed to him from Neratius Apollonides that the property of Paul from the Oxyrhynchite nome, who has been laid under sentence by the most illustrious *praeses* of the Thebaid, Satrius Arrianus, should be adjudged to the accounts of the Treasury and that (we?) should submit a written report. Therefore after making a search through the records deposited in the record offices we declare that Paul owns nothing nor is he registered at all in the records deposited in the record offices and that we do not know the wife of this man . . . inasmuch as (?) the aforesaid Paul does not appear as registered in the same records deposited in the public archives.

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health, well-beloved colleagues.'

(1st? hand) 'In the . . . th and . . . th year of our lords Constantius and Galerius, the Augusti, and of (Severus and) Maximinus, the most noble Caesars, (month, day).'

1-2 Read ε or ς, i.e. Constantius and Galerius, each for the fifth or sixth time, = A.D. 305 or 306, since the remains of the dating by the regnal year (24-26) show that this document must be dated after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, 1 May, A.D. 305 and before the death of Constantius, 25 July, A.D. 306, or rather between the dates when news of these events could have reached Egypt, cf. 24 n. Since both emperors had held the same number of consulships it was usual to put the figure only once after Σεβαστῶν cf. e.g. 1104 2, but there is undoubtedly a figure here.

3 Cf. 1104 for this prytane's date and P. Cornell 45 for the correct form of his name.

4 Restore perhaps *πρυτανεύσαντι*, cf. P. Cornell 45, 6, though the order here is different from that in 1104, 4.

6 Restore probably *ἀμφοτέροις βουλευταῖς* (cf. 2673 6), preceded by another title, presumably a municipal one equal to or lower than gymnasiarch.

ε[κ] τῆς πόλεως: cf. 2673 6 n.

10 Ἀθανάσιον: cf. 2673 11 n.

13 Ἀπολλωνίδου: cf. 2673 13 n. He was the *magister rei privatae*.

15 Κατρίου Ἀριανοῦ: v. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, p. 250. The only fixed date in his career is Feb./Mar. A.D. 307, from P. Grenf. ii 78, where restore *a'* for *β'* as the year of Constantine, cf. e.g. 1542.

20 τίνα[...] τῶ: since τίνα seems so intractable, the name *Tiwâc* has been considered, as has τῶ for τῷ (e.g. διὰ τῷ), but a convincing solution has still to be found. As far as the grammar goes *γυναίκα* could be the subject of εἶδέναι, but it seems better to take this sentence too as reporting the contents of the archives rather than the results of other inquiries.

γυνεκα: cf. 237 34 seq. παρατιθέμενον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ταῖς ὑποστάσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐὰν κατὰ τίνα ἐπιχώριον νόμον κρατεῖται τὰ ὑπάρχοντα.

23 εὐχομαι: cf. M. Chr. 196; one of the officials writes the farewell for both.

24 It may be that]γ' should be read, but the remains might be only flourishes from strokes marking the numeral; 15, 3 is found (102 of 3 Oct. A.D. 306), though Constantius did not in fact survive into his fifteenth year; 14, 2 is most frequently found (29 Aug. A.D. 305-28 Aug. 306); theoretically possible, but not yet found, is 13, 1, i.e. between 1 May and 28 Aug. 305.

25 The lacuna is too long for the usual καὶ Σεουήρου καὶ Μαξιμίνου, e.g. P. Cair. Isid. 44, 21.

2666. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

25 × 19 cm.

c. A.D. 308/9

This is a letter from a logistes of Oxyrhynchus informing one of his predecessors that he is to be held responsible for a loan which he made from municipal funds during his term of office to a sister and two brothers. The debtors' property, if I understand the passage at ii 3 seqq. correctly, was subsequently confiscated and the fiscus refused to repay the debt. Annexed is a letter of the prefect giving this ruling and also implying that the logistes in office shares the responsibility.

2667 appears to be a stage in the same proceedings, probably a later one, and bears the date 22 June, A.D. 309.

Οὐαλέριος Ἡρων ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων

λογιστῆς Ὁξυρνήχου

Αὐρηλίω Σεύθη τῷ καὶ Ὠρίωνι

λογιστεύσασιν [τ]ῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως)

5 τῷ φιλάτω χαίρειν

ὁ κύριός μου διασημ[ό]τος ἑπαρχος

τῆς Αἰγυπτίου Αἰλίου Ὑγεῖνος πρὸς

αὐτῆς ηνεγκα

π(ερί) τῷ [ν] ὀφειλομένων τῷ δη-

10 μοσίῳ τῆς πόλ(εως) λόγῳ χρημάτων

ὑπὸ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ Βάσσου καὶ Ἀρσινό-

ης ἀδελφῆς ἀντ[ό]ν καὶ τῶν ἐπακο-

λουθούτων προσέργων τῆν συμβάσαν αὐτοῖς τύχη[ν] ὑψηγῆσάμενος' προσ-

έταξεν τοὺς ἐκδανίσαντας ἰδίῳ

15 τιμήματι οὗς ἂν εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦ-

τον ὑπευθύνους καταλάβοιμι

μετιέναι τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἔνε-

κεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν παραπόλλυ-

20 σθαι τῇ πόλει ἔν' οὖν εἰδείης καὶ

τοῖς προστεταγμένοις ἀρμόσῃ

ἐπιστέλλω σοι φίλτατε· (m. 2) συν-

εἰς ἐυγεμένων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγαλίου

. ων ἐρῶσθ(αί) σε εἴ[ν]χ[ομαι]

4, 10 πο^λ pap. 9 π' pap. 14 l. ἐκδανίσαντας 16 οι corr. ε ω 18 λλν corr. 22 l. μεγαλείου

ii

ἀ(ντίγραφον)

Αἴλιος Ὑγεῖνος λογιστῆ Ὁξ(υρνηχίτου) χαίρειν

οὐκ ἀφοσιώσει γραμμάτων παρορᾶσθαι

χρή τὸ τῇ πόλει σύμφερον οὐδ', εἰ συμβέ-

5 βηκεν, ὡς ἐπιστέλλεις, τοὺς δανισαμένους

τὰ χρήματα τὰ πολιτικὰ χώραν πεποιη-

κέναι τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ, ἔξαρκί τοῦτο πρὸς

ἀσφάλειαν τῆν σὴν, δήλου καθεστῶτος τὸν

λογιστῆν τὸν ἐκδανίσαντα ἢ τοὺς ἀρχοντας

10 ὑπευθ[οι] ὑ'νους εἶναι τῇ ἀποδόσ' εἰ τῶν χρημά-

των οὔτινες τῷ ἰδίῳ δηλαδὴ τιμήματι

τὸν ἐκδανισμὸν τῶν χρημάτων ποιησά-

μενοι τὸ μέλλον προορᾶσθαι ὀφειλον· διό-

περ ἄ' κολουθῶν τῷ δοθέντι τύπῳ πάντα

15 οὗς ἂν εἰς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον ὑπευθύνους

καταλάβοις μετιέναι φρόντισον, ἢ δέ τι-

νες βουλοῖντο ἀντιλογία χρήσασθαι πρὸς

τῆν τάξιν ἀποσταλήτωσαν·

ἐρῶσθ(αί) σε εὐχομαι

1 α' pap. 3 l. ἀφοσιώσει 5 l. ἐπιστέλλεις, δανισαμένους 6 l. πολιτικά 7 l. ταμίῳ,
ἐξαρκεί 8 l. ἀσφάλειαν 9 l. ἐκδανίσαντα 12 l. ἐκδανισμὸν 16 l. εἰ

'Valerius Heron, alias Sarapion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Seuthes, alias Horion, ex-logistes of the same city, his well-beloved colleague, greeting.

'My lord the most perfect prefect of Egypt, Aelius Hyginus, in answer to what I reported (?) . . . concerning money owed to the public account of the city by Achilleus and Bassus and Arsinoe their sister and the accruing interest, recounting the fate that befel them, has given orders to prosecute for repayment any persons that I might come upon who lent out the money at their own risk and are responsible to this account, so that no loss may be suffered by the city. Consequently I write to you that you may understand and conform with the orders, my well-beloved colleague. (2nd hand) Annexed the (letter written?) by his Highness. I pray for your health.'

'Copy. Aelius Hyginus to the logistes of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. It is not proper that the interest of the city should be overlooked with a mere pious offering of letters, nor, if it has come about, as you write, that those who borrowed the city's money have given place to the most sacred Treasury, does that suffice for your own security, it being clearly established that the logistes who made the loan, or the magistrates, are responsible for the repayment of the money, inasmuch as they ought, since they obviously made the loan of the money at their own risk, to have taken thought for the future. Therefore, in conformity with the published order, take measures to prosecute all persons whom you come upon who are responsible to this account, and if any wish to make a defence, let them be dispatched to headquarters. I pray for your health.'

1 Ἡρων: he is not in the list by B. R. Rees in *JJP* 7-8 (1953-4), 104-5, but has appeared subsequently in P. Lond. Inv. 2226 (*v. Lallemand, L'Administration*, p. 265), and now also in 2667, 1.

3 Σεύθη: see Rees l.c., and 2667 2.

7/8 This passage is very badly damaged, but the readable letters suggest πρὸς ἄ, then supply for the sense, e.g. τῇ τάξει τοῦ ἡγέμονος, or an abstract, e.g. τῇ μεγαλειότητι αὐτοῦ, though those seem not to have been written.

(ἀν?) ἡνεγκα, cf. PSI 1248 35.

13 The addition is put in between lines 12 and 13 and seems to belong in line 13 after προσέργων. ὑψηγῆσάμενος, from the meaning and from ii 4 seqq., seems to belong to (προσαν?) ἡνεγκα rather than προσέταξεν.

προσέργων: the reading seems unavoidable, since the remains of ε and ρ are characteristic, but the word only occurs elsewhere in the appropriate sense as a v.l. for ἔργων in Dem. xxvii 17, 35, and 39.

19 *εἰδείης*: by the strict sequence of tenses this should be *εἶδης*, but it was at about this date that the optative began to enjoy a revival and to be used rather indiscriminately, especially where the subjunctive was normal before, v. Horn, *The Subjunctive*, p. 143, cf. P. Beatty Panop. Introd. p. xxxix.

23 Supply, e.g., *διηγορευμένων, δεδηλωμένων, προσεταγμένων.*

ii 3 *ἀφοσιώσι*: my version stays close to the earlier meaning of 'expiation', though the later element of 'a doing for form's sake' is obviously a great part of the whole meaning.

6 *χώραν πεποιημένοι*: I can find no other example of this phrase. I think that to say that the debtors have 'made place for' or perhaps 'given place to' the fiscus must mean that their property has escheated to the fiscus, which, however, denies responsibility for paying their debts.

2667. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

18 × 24 cm.

22 June, A.D. 309

A logistes writes to an ex-logistes asking him to produce for the prefect the accounts of his term of office, which have already been unsuccessfully demanded from the city clerk in the absence of the ex-logistes. As authority he subjoins the prefect's letter requiring the accounts, but only the prescript is now preserved.

This item involves the same people as 2666, and it may be that the general investigation into the financial administration of the ex-logistes which is being attempted here is connected with the loan of municipal funds for which he is held liable there.

Θ[υαλέριος] Ἡρων ὁ καὶ Σαραπίων λογιστῆς Ὁξυρηνχίτου
 Αὐρηλίω Σεύθ(ε)ι τῷ καὶ Ὡρίωνι λογιστεύσαντι τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 τῷ φιλότατῳ χαίρειν
 γραμμάτων φοιτησάντων τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου ἐπάρχου
 5 τῆς Αἰγύπτου Αἰλίου Ὑγίνου περὶ τοῦ τῆς σῆς διοικήσεως τοὺς
 πολεμικοὺς λόγους τῶν τε ἐν ἀποθέτοις ὄντων χρημάτων
 καὶ τῶν ὀφειλομένων οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνηλώσθαι δοκούντων
 ἀπαιτήσαντά με πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀποστεῖλαι εἴσω τῆς ἐγγεγραμ-
 μένης προθεσμίας, πάραυτα μὲν ἐπὶ μὴ παρόντα σε ἐώρου
 10 ἀλλὰ κατὰ κέλευσιν τῶν μειζόνων ἀπεῖναι τῷ γραμματῇ τῆς πόλεως
 ἐπεθέμην τοῦτο πληροῦν, ὅς γε σοῦ ἀπόντος τούτους συστήσασθαι
 μὴ δύνασθαι διεβεβαιώσατο καὶ ἐπειδὴ λοιπὸν προσῆκόν ἐστιν
 τὸ κεκελευμένον πληροῦσθαι τὸ ἴσον τῶν γραφέντων ἐπιστέλλω
 σοι, φίλτατε, ἵνα ἐγγυκῶς ἀρμόσῃ ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχομαι, φίλτατε.

15 ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐαλερίου Λικιννιανοῦ Λικιννίου Σεβαστοῦ
 καὶ Φλαουίου Οὐαλερίου Κωνσταντίνου υἱοῦ βασιλέων πρὸ ε' Καλαν'δ'(ῶν)
 Ἰουλίω

Αἴλιος Ὑγίνος λ[ογισ]τῆ Ὁξυρηνχίτου χαίρειν

τοὺς λόγους[.....] διοικήσεως τοῦ πρὸ σοῦ λ[ογ]ι[ς][το]ῦ

9 l. ἐπεί, ἐώρων 10 l. γραμματεῖ 13 l. ἐπιστέλλω

'Valerius Heron, alias Sarapion, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Seuthes, alias Horion, ex-logistes of the same city, his well-beloved colleague, greeting. Whereas a letter reached me from my lord the most illustrious prefect of Egypt, Aelius Hyginus, instructing me to demand the municipal accounts of your administration, both those of money deposited and money owed, as well as those of money alleged to have been spent, and to send them to headquarters within the time limit specified therein, immediately, because I perceived that you were not here but absent in accordance with a command of higher authorities, I enjoined the clerk of the city to fulfil this, and he affirmed that in your absence he was unable to produce them. And since, moreover, it is fitting that the command be fulfilled, I send you a copy of the letter, my well-beloved colleague, so that you may understand and conform. I pray for your health, my well-beloved colleague.

'In the consulship of our masters Valerius Licinnianus Licinnius Augustus and Flavius Valerius Constantinus, son of the Emperors; the 10th day before the calends of July.'

'Aelius Hyginus to the logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greeting. The accounts . . . of the administration of the logistes before you.'

1 For the logistes see 2666 1 n.

4 φοιτησάντων cf. P. Cair. Isid. 78 5.

12 λοιπὸν may be used here in a temporal sense (= ἤδη), v. Tabachovitz, *Études*, p. 32.

18 There are remains of seven more lines and part of the margin at the foot but they are so fragmentary as not to be worth transcribing. The letter is summarized in lines 5-9 and some of the same phrases recur in the fragments, e.g. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀνηλώσθαι δοκούντων (20) and πρὸς τὴν τάξιν ἀποστεῖλαι (21).

2668. LETTER OF THE STRATEGUS AURELIUS DIOSCURIDES

13 × 26 cm.

22 August A.D. 311

This letter was originally published by A. Swiderek, with a plate, in *Eos* 54 (1964), 163-5. It is republished here in accordance with the requirements of the Society.¹

It has a particular value for the dating of officials early in the fourth century. The procurator of the Heptanomia is already known from PSI 449 (where he is dated to c. A.D. 312 by the mention of the prefect Aurelius Ammonius, cf. P. Flor. 36). The strategus Aurelius Dioscurides, firmly dated to A.D. 311 in 2668, also appears in P. Merton ii 90, the date of which has been much discussed. On the basis of 2668 it is reasonable to date P. Merton ii 90 in A.D. 311 or even 310. P. Cair. Isid. 69 mentions an order given by the same catholicus Aurelius Sarapion as appears in P. Merton 90, and this chronological cross-reference supports H. C. Youtie's reading of the consular date in P. Cair. Isid. 69 as that of the consuls of A.D. 310.

¹ An important change since the *editio princeps* is the reading, by Rea, confirmed by Turner, of the consular date as that of the second consulship of Maximinus, consul alone. M.'s colleague Galerius died in May, A.D. 311. This text constitutes a parallel, like P. Cair. Isid. 13 25, 32; 16 3; 120 10, for A. H. M. Jones's suggested dating (*Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 481, n. 53) of BGU III 928 in A.D. 311, rejected by J. Lallemand, *Chron. d'Ég.* 1950, pp. 328-9.

Ἀυρήλιος Διοσκούριδης ὁ καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς
στρατηγὸς Ὁξυρρυχείτου
Κλαυδίω Ἡρακλείω τῷ καὶ Πλουτάρχῳ
πραι(ποσίτω) α' πάγου τῷ φιλάτῳ χαίρειν.

5 Κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ κυρίου μου ἐπιτρόπου
τῆς (Ἑπτα)νομίας Οὐαλερίου Σαραποδώρου
σπούδασον ποιῆσαι παρασχεθῆναι ἀπὸ
τοῦ ς[ο]ῦ πάγου Χαιρή[μο]νι Στεφάνῳ καὶ
10 Σερήνῳ Νεμ[ε]σίωνι ἀ[π]ὸ τοῦ Ὁξυρρυχείτου
καὶ τοῖς τούτου κοινῶν[ο]ῖς πραγματευταῖς,
ἀνθ' ὧν παρέσχον ἐπ[ὶ] τῆς Μεμφειτῶν πόλεως
τοῖς ἐκεῖσε διακειμένοις [γεν]ναιοτάτοις στρατιώ-
ταις κρέως (λιτρῶν) Ἄων ὧν τ[ῆ]ς γενομένης δια-
15 δόσεως τὰς φωρμερίας μ[ε]τ' ἀ χεῖρας ἐπάγον-
ται, τὰς ἕκασ λίτρας τετρα[κ]ικ[ι] χειλίας ὀκτακοσίας
πεντήκοντα, λαβὼν [πα]ρ' αὐτῶν τὰς αὐτὰς
φωρμερίας ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρα[δ]εχθῆναι τοῖς τῆν
χορηγίαν ποιουμέ[νο]ις κατ' ἄνδρα τῆ στρα-
τηγικῆ τάξει παρα[.]ενος τῶν τῆν
20 εἰσφορὰν τοῦ σταθμοῦ . . . του ποιουμένοις.

(2nd hd.) ἐ[ρ]ρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι
φίλτ(ατε)

(3rd hd.?) ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Μαξιμίνου Σεβαστοῦ
τὸ β' Μεσορῆ κθ[.] . . [κθ]

25 [

4 φ in φιλάτῳ is not completely written 8/9 Χαιρή[μο]νι Στεφάνῳ καὶ | Σερήνῳ Νεμ[ε]σίωνι —
appositional datives? but I don't see any alternative reading 9 Professor Turner thinks there
is room for more letters than ἀπὸ between Νεμ[ε]σίωνι and τοῦ, and he suggests reading τοῖς ἀπὸ
10 l. τούτων 17 παρα[δ]εχθῆναι not certain, παρα[] could be read as παρ[] (cf., e. g., 10 πραγματευταῖς,
suggestion of Professor Turner), but see also πα in ἐπάγον- in 14 and παρ in 19; the first letter after
the lacuna seems to be ε rather than α (Professor Turner), the alternative reading could then be
παρ[ο]σ[α]χθῆναι 19 παρα[θ]έμ[ε]νος? τῶν for τοῖς? cf. 20 ποιουμένοις 20 σταθμοῦ τούτου suggested
by Professor Youtie.

'Aurelius Dioscurides also called Iulianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to his dearest
Claudius Heraclaeus also called Plutarchus, praepositus of the first pagus, greetings. In accordance
with the order of my lord the procurator of the Heptanomia, Valerius Sarapodorus, hasten to deliver

from your pagus to Chairemon Stephanus, Serenus Nemesion from the Oxyrhynchite nome, and to
their associate-collectors in return for the 4850 pounds of meat provided by them in the city of Mem-
phis to the most noble soldiers stationed there, of which delivery they have in hand the receipts, the
distribution having taken place, the same four thousand eight hundred and fifty pounds, and take
from them the same receipts, so that it can be credited to those actually making the delivery. . . .
'The 2nd consulship of our lord Maximinus Augustus, Mesore 29. . . .'

1 Aurelius Dioscurides also called Iulianus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, cf. introduction.

3 A Claudius Heraclaeus also called Plutarchus is known from PSI 819, dated by the editor in the
second century.

6 Valerius Sarapodorus is known already from PSI 449 as ἐπίτροπος, the present text proves him
to be the ἐπίτροπος τῆς Ἑπτανομίας.

14 τὰς φωρμερίας here 'official receipts' given to the agents for the delivery of the military an-
nona, cf. 43 (φορμαρία, 295), P. Maspero 69050 11 and 69054 6 (φορμαρία, very doubtful). However, in
1115 (285) the three epimeletae deliver to the strategus ἣν ἔχομεν ἀθεντικὴν [ἀπόχ]ην οὐ ἀνηνέγκαμεν καὶ
δι[α]δεδώκαμεν ἄρτου. The φορμαλείαι mentioned in the copy of this ἀποχή seem to be the orders of
delivery and different from the receipt — ἀποχή (cf. 11 seqq. παραδ[ε]δώκατε ἐν τῇ Πανῶν πόλει κατὰ
κέλευσιν Ἀυρήλιου Ἄρ[ι]στ[ο]ῦ τοῦ κρατίστου διοικητοῦ ἀκολούθως αἰς ἐπηνέγκατε φ[ορ]μαλείαις - -
ἄρτου κτλ.)

14-15 τὰς φωρμερίας μετὰ χεῖρας ἐπάγονται — the confusion of two different constructions: τὰς φ.
ἐπάγεσθαι — 'to produce the receipts' (cf. ἐπάγεσθαι μαρτύρια in Xenophon, *Symp.* 8, 34) and τὰς φ.
μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν — 'to have in hand the receipts' (cf. 934 8; 901 9; P. Goodsp. 15).

2669. REPORT OF ANACHORESIS

9.2 × 17.6 cm.

A.D. 41/54

Menander and Hierax attest on oath that their tenant Orsenouphis has abandoned
his domicile, and that he owns no property.

The text forms a group with 251-3. These are notices of *anachoresis*, similar in
form to the notices of birth and death, and similarly designed to supplement the
official registers of taxable population. In contrast with the reports of birth and death,
reports of *anachoresis* are rare: they occur only at Oxyrhynchus, and only in the
reigns of Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero. No doubt they reflect the growing economic
distress of the period (Chalon, *L'Édit de Ti. Julius Alexander* 53 seqq.). When
anachoresis next became a major problem, in the second century, the government
had ceased to waste energy on the pursuit of individuals, and confined itself to
redistributing the defaulters' taxes.

251-3 are discussed and illustrated by Lewis, *JEA* 23 (1937), 68; Rémondon,
Ann. du Service 51 (1951), 229; and Braunert, *JJP* 9-10 (1955-6), 264. 2669 adds
some interesting details. First, the report is submitted not by the relations of the
missing man, but by his landlords: just as the landlord might be responsible for
returning his tenants at the census (Hombert and Préaux, *Recensement* 57). Second,
the fugitive is not a peasant but an artisan. Third, lines 15-17 clearly imply an
alternative explanation for Orsenouphis' disappearance: details remain obscure.

Ἀ[πολλ]ωνίωι καὶ Διδύμωι τοπογρα(μματεῦσι)
 καὶ κ[ω]μογρα(μματεῦσι) Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως
 παρὰ Μενάνδρου καὶ Ἰέρακος ἀμ-
 φοτέρων Ἀρβείχιος. ὁ ἀπογραφό-
 5 μενος εἰς τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἡμῶν
 μητρικὴν οἰκίαν ἐπὶ λαύρας χηνο-
 βοσκῶν Ὁρσενούφιδος Μεγχεύδος
 χαλ[κο]τύπος ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς
 τὴν [ξέ]νην ἔτι πλεῖονος χρό-
 10 νου [πό]ρον μὴ ἔχων· καὶ ὁμνύ-
 ομεν [Τ]ιβέριον [Κ]λαύδιον καίσαρα
 σεβασ[τ]ὸν Γερμανικὸν αὐτοκράτορα
 ἀνακ[ε]χωρηκέναι τὸν Ὁρσενού-
 φιν καὶ μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ
 15 πόρο[ν] μὴδὲ μὴν ἐστρατεύε-
 θαι [...]. . . ἐστρατεύεσθαι
 ὑμεῖν. εὐορκοῦσι
 μὲν ἡμ[εῖν] εἰν εἰς ἡ, ἐπιπορκοῦ-
 20 σι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία. διὸ [...].
 c. 13 letters]του[...]

1 τοπογρ^l 2 κ[ω]μογρ^l 9 l. πλείονος 18 l. εἴη

'To Apollonius and Didymus, toparchy-scribes and village-scribes of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, from Menander and Hierax, both sons of Harbichis. Orsenouphis son of Menches, bronze-smith, who is registered for the census as living in the house in the lane of the goose-herds which belongs to us as an inheritance from our mother, removed abroad some considerable time ago, having no property. And we swear by Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that Orsenouphis has removed and that there is no property belonging to him and that he has not joined the army; (and if) he does join the army, (we shall report it) to you. May it be well with us if we swear truly, and the reverse if we swear falsely. Therefore

1 Ἀ[πολλ]ωνίωι καὶ Διδύμωι: P. Mich. 170 shows the same pair in office in A.D. 49. A Didymus with these titles appears in 251 and 255 (A.D. 44 and 48), but as the first of his pair.

1-2 τοπογρα(μματεῦσι) καὶ κ[ω]μογρα(μματεῦσι): this conjunct office is attested for Oxyrhynchus under Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero: 251-5, P. Mich. 170, PSI 871. There are Ptolemaic precedents at Hibeh c. 228 B.C. (P. Hib. 68, 5-6), and at Ombos in 65 B.C. (SB 6924, 8). In the middle toparchy, on the other hand, the comogrammateis were distinct and subordinate in A.D. 13 (1188 7, 2277 5).

6-7 λαύρας χηνοβοσκῶν: 256 7; *Symb. Osl.* 37 (1961), 109, l. 9.

10 [πό]ρον: no property: in 252 and 253 the fugitives formerly, but no longer, owned shares of houses. (πόρος does not mean 'income': P. Phil. 1, 9, note.)

10 seqq.: first the oath, then the request: in 251-3 the order is reversed.

15-16 μὴδὲ μὴν ἐστρατεύεσθαι κτλ.: 251 23-24 had a similar clause, but the original (British Museum 1186) is too tattered for a precise reading. ἐστρατεύεσθαι is a normal word for military service; and military service would remove Orsenouphis from his domicile without making him a fugitive. But a different interpretation is suggested by P. Ryl. 595, 114: there, in a list of fugitives drawn up at Philadelphia in A.D. 57, appears the subheading ἐστρατευμένοι τῶι [...] μὴ[ν]ι Σεβαστῶι οὐκ μὴδὲν [...] () —'defaulters' or 'malingerers', as the editors translate. Difficulties of spelling and meaning arise.

2669 certainly has στρατ-; P. Ryl. 595, to judge from a photostat, most probably has στραγ-. Four other texts show forms with -τ- in contexts where the sense requires 'defaulting' rather than 'soldiering': UPZ 110, 162; BGU 1127, 28-29; 1131, 20; 1760, 7. But in three at least of these -γ- makes a good or a better reading (I have checked BGU 1131 and 1760 from photographs; on UPZ 110 see *CdÉ* 28 (1953), 143). If 2669 intended a verb of 'defaulting', his spelling remains eccentric —unless it is worth citing LXX Judges 19, 8, where all manuscripts have a form in -τ-.

And what form of defaulting is in point? ἐστρατεύεσθαι is a favourite verb with Ptolemaic officials; it disappears from the papyri after the reign of Nero. (The instances collected: *CdÉ* 23 (1948), 112.) It is used of those who fail to show proper zeal or competence in carrying out government instructions, legal obligations, private commissions. But in relation to *anachoresis* the meaning should be more positive: ἐστρατευμένοι have failed to pay their taxes (P. Ryl. 595); theirs is a state which can be entered on and reported, incompatible with real flight and destination. Some form of tax-evasion, then. But I can think of nothing plausible in detail.

It seems more plausible, then, to refer ἐστρατεύεσθαι in 2669 to military service; and to ask whether in P. Ryl. 595 ἐστρατευμένοι would be a possible reading.

16 [...] . . . : ἐ[άν] δ]ε καὶ suggests itself. ἐ[άν] δ]ε is certainly possible; καὶ is not excluded, but a would be oddly shaped (perhaps corrected from another letter).

17]: e.g. δηλώσ(ε)ω]?

19-20 διο [...] . . . : διο [ἀξ]ί[ω] | [ἀναγράφεσθαι] τοῦ[τον] | ἐν τοῖς ἀνακεχωρηκόσιν (251 12; cf. 252 11, 253 9).

2670. SHIPPER'S RECEIPT FOR CONVOYS OF GRAIN

c. 42 × 17.5 cm.

6 December, A.D. 127

Of this document the first six columns remain; internal evidence suggests that little if anything is lost at the end. The upper and lower margins are both missing, and the text is slightly damaged at head and foot.

The prescript (1-15) has many parallels among the papyri: the captain of a group of corn-barges issues a receipt to the sitologi of Paomis for state grain consigned to him through his *epiplooi*. The unusual feature is the list which follows: an itemization convoy by convoy of the grain as it arrived at the harbour on Choiak 9 and the succeeding days. Each day's convoys are numbered, and under each is specified the number of sacks and of artabae brought.

The receipt is dated 9 Choiak, 127—the day of the first delivery. But the corn delivered is that of A.D. 125/6, two years old. Transport of grain down river did in fact continue throughout the year, not only in the months after the harvest when the bulk of the annona had to reach Alexandria (cf. 2182 introduction): we have captains' receipts dating from every month except Tybi, Pharmouthi, and Pachon. 2670 clearly records a dispatch of arrears from the Paomis granary. The total quantity was

apparently something over 10,000 artabae. The daily deliveries increase regularly up to Choiak 13 and 14, and then fall sharply away : which suggests that the operation aimed, not at loading a given group of barges to capacity, but at clearing the granary of a particular section of its contents. In outline:

Choiak 9	18 <i>phorai</i>	total <i>artabai</i> 1056
10	20	1161
11	23?	12[.]1
12	25	1311
13	27	1314
14	28	1314
15	22?	
16	11	474
17	10	424

The itemized account was presumably drawn up by the harbour clerks. In the lists of convoys at least two writers can be distinguished: one (Choiak 9, 10, and 12) wrote *φορ* as the abbreviation of *φορᾶς*, the other wrote simply *φορ*. After each list comes a summary of the day's arrivals, generally by a different hand; here too several scribes (four at least) were at work.

Apart from illustrating the mechanics of the *annonā*, **2670** adds a little information about the *epiflooi* and about the additional charges payable on state grain (see 11 and 34-36, notes). I print the first column complete, and after that only the daily summaries.

Col. i
 ± 12 κυβερνήτη]ς π[λοίου]ν
 [.] ἀγ[ω]γῆς [ἀρταβῶν]. Ἴκ Εὐδαίμονι
 [.] ἐνω[ύ]του[λόγ]οι Θμοι[ε]φῶ[ν] [τ]ο[π]αρχίας
 [Παώ]με]ως τόπω[ν] χείρει]ν λόγος κατὰ-
 5 [γωγῆς τοῦ] παραλαμβ[αν]ο]μένου ὑπ' ἑμοῦ
 [ἀπὸ γ]ενήματος δεκάτου ἔτους Τραϊανοῦ
 [Ἀδ]ριανοῦ καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου πυροῦ καθαροῦ
 [ἀδό]λου ἀβῶλου ἀκρίθου κεκοσκινευ-
 [μέ]νου καὶ λελυγημένου μ[έ]τρῳ δημο-
 10 πίω ἡμαρταβ[ί]ω μετρήσει τῆ κελευθειείῃ
 δι' ἐπιπλῶν Ἀμμωνίου Ἀμμωνίου καὶ
 Παποντώτος Παποντώτος ἀπὸ Παώμεως
 καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς. (ἔτους) δωδεκάτου αὐτοκράτορος
 καίσαρος Τρα[ι]ανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ σεβαστοῦ

15 Χοιάχ θ̄. ἐτὶ δέ-

α φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) λ (ἄρτ.) ρ
 [β] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) θ (ἄρτ.) κζ
 [γ] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) κδ (ἄρτ.) οβ
 [δ] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) λβ (ἄρτ.) ρς
 20 [ε] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) ια (ἄρτ.) λγ
 [ς] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) θ (ἄρτ.) κζ
 [ζ] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) λς (ἄρτ.) ρη
 [η] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) ιγ (ἄρτ.) λθ
 θ φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) ια (ἄρτ.) λγ
 25 [ι] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) ς (ἄρτ.) ιη
 []
 []
 []
 []
 []

30 ιε φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) μ (ἄρτ.) ρκ
 ις φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) θ (ἄρτ.) κζ
 ιζ φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) μδ (ἄρτ.) ρλβ
 ιη φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) ιβ (ἄρτ.) λς
 γί(νονται) τῆς ἡμ[ε]ρᾶ]ς ἐν ἡμι-
 35 αρταβ[ί]ω καὶ [τῆ]ν κελευθειείαν
 ἑκατοστ(ῆ)ν μ[ί]αν (πυροῦ ἄρτ.) χιλίας
 πεντήκο[ν]τα ἕξ.
 ἰ ὁμοίω[ς]
 α φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) λ (ἄρτ.) ρ
 40 β φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) θ (ἄρτ.) κζ
 [γ] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) λ]η (ἄρτ.) ριδ
 [δ] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) ς] (ἄρτ.) ιη
 [ε] φορ(ᾶς) κάκκ(οι) κβ (ἄρτ.) ξς
 [ς .[] .[]

9 l. λελικ- 35-36 and all other totals l. τῆ κελευθειείῃ ἑκατοστῆ μιᾷ

Col. ii 15 (Choiak 10) 20 *phorai* γί(νονται) τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἡμαρταβίω | καὶ τὴν κελευθειείαν ἑκατοστ(ῆ)ν | μίαν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) χιλίας ἑκατὸν | ἐξήκοντα μιᾷ
 Col. iii 3 (Choiak 11) 21 + [2?] *phorai* [γί(νονται) τ]ῆς ἡμέρας ἐν ἡμαρταβίω | καὶ τὴν κελευθειείαν ἑκατοστ(ῆ)ν | μία]ν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) χιλίας διακό[σιαι . . .] μίαν. 20 preserved entries total art. 981.
 Col. iii 34 (Choiak 12) 25 *phorai* Summary lost. 25 preserved entries total art. 1311.
 Col. iv 26 (Choiak 13) 27 *phorai* γί(νονται) τῆς ἡμέρας [ἐν] ἡμαρταβίω καὶ | τὴν κελευθειείαν ἑκατο-
 στῆν μία]ν | (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) χιλίας τριακόσιαι δεκατέ[σσαρες] | [. . .]μοι() (perhaps [ὁ]μοίω[ς]) ιγ Ἄτιδ
 Col. v 14 (Choiak 14) 28 *phorai* γί(νονται) τῆς ἡμ[ε]ρᾶ]ς ἐν ἡμαρταβίω καὶ τὴν [κελευθειείαν
 ε]κατοστῆν μ[ί]α]ν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) [.] κοσίας δεκατέ[σσαρες] | . . . Ἄτιδ
 Col. v 41 seqq. (Choiak 15) 22 + [0?] *phorai* Summary lost. Only three entries properly preserved.
 Col. vi 15 (Choiak 16) 11 *phorai* γί(νονται) τῆς ἡμέρας [ἐν] ἡμαρ]ταβίω καὶ τὴν κ[ε]λευθειεί]αν ἑκατοστῆν [μίαν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) τε]τρακό[σιαι] ἑβδ[ομήκοντα][.].
 Col. vi 31 (Choiak 17) 10 *phorai* γί(νονται) τῆς ἡμ[ε]ρᾶ]ς ἐν ἡμαρταβίω | [κ]α[ὶ] τῆ]ν κελευθειείαν ἑκατοστῆν μίαν (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι)]αι εἰκο[σιαι] . . . [.]ν κδ

' . . helmsman of . . . boats of capacity . . . artabae, to Eudaemon former sitologus (?) of the Thmoisepho toparchy, Paomis area: greetings. Account of transport of the wheat received by me from the produce of the tenth year of Traianus Hadrianus Caesar the lord: pure, unadulterated wheat, without earth, without barley, sieved and winnowed, (measured) by the public half-artaba measure according to the prescribed measurement, (received) through Ammonius son of Ammonius and Papontos son of Papontos, from Paomis, and their colleagues, *epiflooi*. Twelfth yr. of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Choiak 9. As follows:

- Convoy 1: 30 sacks, 90 art.
- 2: 9 sacks, 27 art. (etc.)

(Line 34 seqq.) Total for the day, including the half-artaba and the prescribed one-hundredth, one thousand and fifty six art. of wheat.'

1 seqq. Parallel texts of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods: P. Hib. 156 (252/250 B.C.?), W. Chr. 441 (251 B.C.), P. Lille i 21-24 (221 B.C.), P. Tebt. 823 (185 B.C.), P. Tebt. 825 (176 B.C.?), P. Tebt. 824 (171 B.C.?), P. Strassb. ii 13 (2nd cent. B.C.), W. Chr. 443 (A.D. 15), 276 (A.D. 77), P. Strassb. 205 (c. A.D. 135), P. Strassb. 206 (A.D. 142), P. Warren 5 (A.D. 154), P. Princ. 26 (c. A.D. 154), PSI 1053 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.), P. Mil. Vogl. 189 (A.D. 208), 1259 (A.D. 211/12), 2125 (A.D. 220/1?), SPP xx 32 (A.D. 231), 1260 (A.D. 286).

1-4 The prescript with *χαίρειν* as in W. Chr. 443 and 2125.

1 κυβερνήτης: the issuer of the receipt is so called in 276 and P. Princ. 26 and W. Chr. 443; he is *ναύκληρος* first in 1259 of A.D. 211/12. The line will have begun with the captain's name. Above, the papyrus is broken away; but the formula is complete without supposing any lines lost.

2] Γκ: the deliveries below total some 10,000 artabae: the minimum restoration is therefore $\overline{M}^{\alpha} \Gamma \kappa$, i.e. 13,020. At the beginning *δυσὶ* looks too short; perhaps *τριῶ* (but corn boats varied greatly in size — 2,000 art. in P. Tebt. 486, 3,500 in P. Lille 21, 4,600 in SPP xx 32, 5,000 in 1259 and 2125).

2-3 *εὐδαίμων* [...]*ένω* *ειτ[ολόγ...]*: two types of supplement offer. (a) [*καὶ . . .*]*ένω* *ειτ[ολόγους]*. This is common form. But what was the name of the second sitologus? *Θεόξενος* etc. are too long. (b) [*γενόμε*]*ένω* *ειτ[ολόγους]*. This is verbally more likely; and if it is correct, we must assume that Eudaemon had been sitologus in 125/6 and continued responsible for the produce of his year.

4-5 *κατα[γωγῆς]*: cf. e.g. P. Hamb. 17.

9 *λελυγημένον*: a unique specification, absent from the parallel texts.

9-10 *μ[ε]τρῶν ἡμάρταβ(ῶν)* as in P. Strassb. 205-6, PSI 1053, 1259, 2125.

10 *τῆ* *κελευσθείη*: i.e. with the prescribed additional charge (ll. 34-35). The additional charges are specified as part of the formula in P. Strassb. 205-6, P. Warren 5, PSI 1053, 1259, 2125, SPP xx 32.

11 *ἐπιπλόων*: the earliest example of *ἐπιπλοοί* who are not legionaries but local civilians: see Schwartz, BIFAO 47 (1948), 184 seqq., and Guéraud, JJP 4 (1950), 109 seqq. The formula is paralleled in SB 9223, W. Chr. 443, and 276.

16 seqq. For the numbered convoys, see Crum and Bell, *Wadi Sarga* 105 seqq.; Pearl, TAPA 71 (1940), 373-4; P. Abinn. 69, 88 seqq. The sack is equated, as usual, with 3 artabae, and represents the normal donkey load. The number of donkeys to the convoy varies considerably (minimum 3, maximum 48), and the average number declines gradually over the nine days — this form of transport was largely precarious and improvisatory, as 2182 shows.

34-36 *ἡμάρταβ(ῶν) κτλ.*: these additional charges are found together in P. Strassb. 205-6 and all the later receipts for corn (PSI 1053 damaged); neither appears in W. Chr. 443, and only the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in SB 9223 (276 damaged). It is possible that *κελευσθ(εῖσαν)* (which makes part of the formula only here and in the slightly later P. Strassb. 205) has a special emphasis — as if the 1 per cent. was a recent innovation. Schwartz has suggested that a general reorganization of the corn-transport system took place in the early second century (BIFAO 47 (1948), 188); new charges, like the creation of civilian *ἐπιπλοοί*, might be part of a scheme to reduce expenses and increase yield.

Kalén identified the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. charge as *ἐνοίκιον θησαυροῦ*, and the 1 per cent. as *φιλόανθρωπον* (P. Berl. Leihg. pp. 291 seqq.). If the 1 per cent. is indeed an innovation of the second century, this identification becomes still more dubious: what is claimed to be in origin the perquisite of the sitologi belongs to the state as early as A.D. 127. More probably Börner is right in guessing that the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. covered loss in transit or by adulteration (*Staatliche Korntransport* 32, n. 97).

2671. CENSUS RETURN

13.5 × 15.3 cm.

A.D. 216/7

To judge from the formulae, this return comes from the Heracleopolite nome. Menches lists his household, free and slave, in some detail; he says nothing about property (contrast the parallel texts from this nome). No official is named as addressee of the return, although there would be space above line 1.

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Μεγχιήτος ὄρου μητρὸς Τασεῦτος ἀπὸ Λεωνι...
ἐποικίω[υ]· ἀπογρ(άφομαι) πρὸς τ[ὸ δ]μεληλυθὸς κδ (ἔτος) κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέν-
τα ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου [...].ου τοῦ κρατίστου διαδεξ[αμ]ένου τὴν
ἡγεμονίαν καὶ [...].[...].[...]. ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Δάτρου [του] λαμ-

5 προτάτου ἡγε[μόνος] εἶ[μι] δέ

δ] Αὐ[ρή]λιος Μ[εγχιή]τος (ἔτων) ξ[.]

Αὐρήλιος ὄρος υ[ί]ός μου ἐκ [μη]τρ(ός) Θωνίλλης (ἔτων) λβ

γυνὴ τοῦτου Θ[...]. Ἀχιλλέως μητρ(ός) Τααφύγγ(εως) (ἔτων) λα

υἶος τοῦτ(ου) Ψε[...]. ἐπὶ ξένης γεννηθείς (ἔτων) δ

10 Τασεῦς ἀδελφῆ [του] προγεγραμμ[έ]νου ὄρου τετελ(εῖτηκεν)

Νεχθενίβις ὁ κα[ι] [...] ἀδελφὸς τ[ου] προγεγρ(αμμένου) ὄρου (ἔτων) κθ

Τεξνᾶτεις ἀδελφῆ (ἔτων) ιθ

Ἰσιδώρα δούλη τ[ου] προγεγραμμ(ένου) Μεγχιήτος [...] ἐπὶ ξένης [...]

ὄρος ὁ κα[ι] [...] υἱός ἀπελευθερ[...].[...].[...]

15 [...] μὴν φ[...].[...]

.....]εἰς ἀδελφῆ τοῦτου . . . [

± 10 [...] θελκίου[...]

± 7 Αὐ[ρή]λιος Θε[...]

[...].[...]

20 [...]

4 ὄρο 9 υἱός 11 νεχθενίβις ὁ κα[ι] ὄρος? 12 Τεσν- or Τεσν-? 13 Ἰσιδώρα
14 υἱός 15 if the high trace at the end is not delusory, φαφ[...]

'From Aurelius Menches son of Horus, mother Taseus, of Leon... Settlement. I make my return for the past 24th year, in accordance with the orders given by Aurelius... the most excellent former acting prefect and... by Aurelius Datus the most illustrious prefect. I am:

Aurelius Menches, aged 6[...]. Aurelius Horus my son, mother Thonilla, aged 32. His wife Th... daughter of Achilleus, mother Taaphynchis, aged 31. His son Pse..., born away from home, aged 4. Taseus, sister of the aforementioned Horus, has died. Nechthenibis also called..., brother of the aforementioned Horus, aged 29. Tesnatis (their) sister, aged 19.

Isidora, slave of the aforementioned Menches... away from home... Horus also called..., (her) son, freed...'

1 Λεωνι...: perhaps *Λεωνίδου*, but the *v* is not ideal (more like *c*). The *WB* does not list this settlement; *Λεωνάτος* (P. Ryl 206, 29) cannot be read.

2 πρὸς τ[ὸ δ]μεληλυθὸς κδ (ἔτος): the formula is Heracleopolite, see Hombert-Préaux, *Recensement* 79. Similarly 5 εἶ[μι] δέ belongs not to Oxyrhynchus but to the Heracleopolite and to the Fayûm (Hombert-Préaux 113: falsely restored in P. Oslo 99, which comes from the Hermopolite).

2-5 A year κδ, or possibly κα; an acting prefect, and the prefect who has succeeded him. All this points to A.D. 215/16, 24 Caracalla: some returns for this census refer to the acting prefect Aur. Antinous, some to the prefect Valerius Datus (Hombert-Préaux 54). Here, in 3, Ἀ[ντι]νόου makes a possible reading (the traces are minimal); and Δάτου, certainly Αὐρηλίου and not Οὐαλερίου.

No other return of 215/16 combines the two prefects. There are parallels from other years (Hombert-Préaux 54-56), but they give no clue to the damaged word in 4.

9 Ψερ[μεγχι]ς would fit. For ἐπι ξένης compare P. Bad. 75 A 11, B 18 (both Heracleopolite).

13 Perhaps she died away from the ἰδία. (Or was bought there?) If the freedman Horus was her son, observe that he is called υἱός and not ἐκγονός.

18 Not a slave and not Menches: possibly the official who received the return (although none is mentioned at the beginning).

2672. PETITION OF APHYNCHIS

A 9.7 × 28 cm.
B 9.5 × 21.5 cm.

September/October A.D. 218

This petition survives in two copies, written by different hands. A provides an almost complete text, which is printed below; B is much damaged in the middle section. Both copies have been subscribed by Aphynchis in careful uncials.

B has on its verso an edict of Ti. Pactumeius Magnus, prefect A.D. 175/7. This is to be published later.

2672 now marks the earliest appearance (Phaophi A.D. 218) of the strategus Aurelius Harpocraton.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀρποκρατίῳ
στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὀξυ(ρυγίτου)
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀφύγχιος
Cαραπάτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγγων πόλεως.
5 τῇ ἐνεστῶσῃ ἡμέρᾳ
μαθῶν Ἀχιλλέα πλακουν-
τῶν ἐπελθόντα Cαραπιά-
δι δούλῃ τοῦ ἀφήλικός μου
υἱοῦ καὶ τετραυματικέναι
10 αὐτὴν κατὰ τοῦ χείλους
ἐξαυτῆς γενομένῳ μοι
πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ λογοποιο[υ]-
μένῳ περὶ τῆς τοσαύτης
αὐτοῦ ἀθθαδίας ἐπήλθεν
15 κάμ[οι κ]αὶ [ε]ξέβρισεν καὶ διε-

2672. PETITION OF APHYNCHIS

λοιδορήσατό μοι οὐ μόνον
ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθῳ με ἐνετίναξεν
κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς· [ὄ]θεν
ἐπιδιδούς τὰ βιβλίδια ἀξιώ
20 κελεῦσαι ἀχθῆναι αὐτόν
ἐπ[ι] c]ε καὶ ἐπεξελεθεῖν τοῖς
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τετολμημένοις
πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἐκδικίας
καὶ θαρραπείας τὴν παῖδα
25 τυχεῖν· (ἔτους) β' αὐτοκράτορος
καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
Ἀντωνείνου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς
σεβαστοῦ] Φαῶφι.
Αὐρηλίος Ἀφύγ]χις ἐπιδέ-
30 δωκα]

2 οξυρυγ B 9 υἱου B 12 λογο[[μ]]ποι- B 21 επεξ: π corrected, ξ damaged:
dubiously read, but I can find no alternative 24 l. θαρραπείας

'To Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Aphynchis son of Sarapas, of Oxyrhynchus.

'This very day, being told that Achilles the pastry-cook had attacked Sarapias, a slave of my son (who is a minor), and indeed had wounded her on the lip—when I went off to him forthwith and remonstrated with him about his enormous insolence, he attacked me too, and used violence and abused me—nay more, he even hurled a stone at my head. So I hand in the petitions and request you to order him to be brought before you and to proceed against his outrages, so that the girl can receive redress and treatment.

'Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Phaophi.
'(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Aphynchis, have handed in (the petitions).'

24 θαρραπείας: it is implied that medical treatment and legal redress come together. Presumably Achilles pays damages, if convicted, and the cost of doctoring would be met from these.

28 Φαῶφι: neither copy states the day of the month, despite τῇ ἐνεστῶσῃ ἡμέρᾳ in 5.

2673. DECLARATION OF CHURCH PROPERTY

12 × 26 cm.

5 February A.D. 304

This document, of which there are three copies, illustrates how Diocletian's edicts about the persecution of Christians were carried into effect in Egypt. It is a report by a clerk in minor orders—a lector (ἀναγνωστής), who was illiterate at least in Greek—declaring that his former church in the village of Chysis had no possessions

of any sort except a bronze gate that had already been delivered to the logistes of Oxyrhynchus for transport to Alexandria. The removal of the gate may indicate that the church was dismantled as ordered by the first edict of February 303—cf. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* viii 2 τὰς μὲν ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἔδαφος φέρειν. It is doubtful whether we should believe that this village church was extremely poor or suspect that the nil return was part of the Christian resistance, which Eusebius says was strongest in Egypt and the Thebaid (*Hist. Eccl.* viii 8 f.).

The bodies of the three copies are in different hands but each has a subscription by the same *ὑπογραφεύς*. The sheets were held together in a way that has not come to my notice before. A vertical slit about 1 cm. long was cut through all three in the left margin about 3 cm. from the top edge and 1 cm. from the left edge. A separate strip of papyrus was passed through the slit and its ends knotted together.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων

Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ ἕνατον καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ

τὸ η' Σεβαστῶν

Αὐρηλίους Νεῖλω τῶ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ γυμ() βουλ(ευτῆ)

5 ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει καὶ Καρμάτῃ καὶ Ματρίνῳ ἀμφ[οτέρους

γυμ() βουλ(ευταῖς) συνδίκους τοῖς πᾶσι τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)

'Οξύρυγχιτῶν πόλεως (vac.)

Αὐρηλίους Ἀμμώνιος Κοπρέως ἀναγνωσ-

τῆς τῆς ποτε ἐκ(κ)λησίας κώμης Χύσεως

10 ἐπιθεμένων ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ ἀκολουθῶς

τοῖς γραφ(ε)ῖσι ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Ἀθανασίου ἐπιτρό-

που πριουάτης ὡς ἐκ κελεύσεως τοῦ δια-

σημ(οτάτου) μαγίστρου τῆς πριουάτης Νερατίου

Ἀπολλωνί(δ)ου περὶ τοῦ παραστῆσαι ἅπαντα

15 τὰ (ε)ῖδη τὰ [ε]ν τῇ αὐτῇ ποτε ἐκ(κ)λησία καὶ ἐμοῦ

προενεγ'καμένου μὴ ἔχειν τὴν (αὐτὴν) ἐκ(κ)λη-

ς(ε)ῖαν μήτε χρυσὸν μήτε ἄσημον

μήτε ἀργύριον μήτε ἐσθῆτα μήτε τετρά-

ποδα μήτε ἀνδράποδα μήτε οἰκόπαιδα

20 μήτε ὑπάρχοντα μήτε ἀπὸ χαρισμάτων

μηδ' αὖ ἀπὸ διαθηκῶν εἰ μὴ μόνην

τὴν εἰ[ρε]τῖσαν χαλκῆ[ν] πύλην καὶ παραδο-

τῖσαν τῶ λογιστῆ πρὸς τὸ κατενεγ'χθῆναι

ἐπὶ τὴν λαμ(προτάτην) Ἀλεξάνδριαν ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς γρα-

25 φ(ε)ῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημ(οτάτου) ἡμῶν ἡγεμόνος Κλωδίου

Κο(υ)λκιανοῦ καὶ ὀμνῶ τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν

αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβασ(τῶν)

καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων

καϊσάρων τύχην ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν καὶ μηδὲν διε-

30 ψεῦσθαι ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην τῶ θείῳ ὄρκῳ

(ἔτους) κ' καὶ ιβ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ

Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καϊσάρων·

Μεχεῖρ [ι'·

(m. 2) Αὐρηλίους Ἀμμώνιος ὤμοσα τὸν ὄρκον

ὡς (πρόκειται)· Αὐρηλίους Σερήνος ἔγρα(ψα) ὑ(πέρ) αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰ(δότος) γρά(μ)-
ματα)

19 l. οἰκόπεδα

22 seq. l. εὐρεθεῖσαν, παραδοθεῖσαν

'In the consulship of our lords the emperors Diocletian—for the ninth time—and Maximian—for the eighth time—the Augusti.

'To Aurelius Neilus alias Ammonius (ex-?) gymnasiarch, senator, prytane in office, and to Aurelius Sarmates and Aurelius Matrinus, both (ex-?) gymnasiarchs, senators and syndics, all of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Ammonius, son of Copreus, lector of the former church of the village of Chysis.

'Whereas you gave me orders in accordance with what was written by Aurelius Athanasius, *procurator rei privatae*, in virtue of a command of the most illustrious *magister rei privatae*, Neratius Apollonides, concerning the surrender of all the goods in the said former church and whereas I reported that the said church had neither gold nor silver nor money nor clothes (vestments?) nor beasts nor slaves nor lands nor property either from grants or bequests, excepting only the bronze gate which was found and delivered to the logistes to be carried down to the most glorious Alexandria in accordance with what was written by our most illustrious prefect Clodius Culcianus, I also swear by the genius of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius, the most noble Caesars, that these things are so and that I have falsified nothing, or may I be liable to the divine oath.

'In the 20th and 12th year of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian, the Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius, the most noble Caesars. Mecheir 10th.'

'(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Ammonius, swore the oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Serenus, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

1 Copy C has Χύσεως in the margin above this line.

6 συνδίκους: v. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, p. 115.

9 ποτε: cf. τῆς ποτε Κόπτου, P. Beatty Panop. 2 162, 187, 193. The note to 2, 162 is justified by the parallel here.

11 Αὐρηλίου Ἀθανασίου: new here and in 2665 10.

13 seq. Νερατίου Ἀπολλωνί(δ)ου: Ἀπολλωνίου A, Ἀπολλωνίδου BC and also 2665 13. New in these two documents. For the *magister rei privatae* see N. Lewis in *JJP* xv 157 seqq.

16 <αὐτὴν>: from BC.

21 μηδ' αὖ: read by E. G. T.

22 seq. ευρετικαν, παραδοτικαν: so BC also.

23 λογιστῆ: this is one of the earliest references to the logistes, v. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, pp. 107 seq.

26 κολκιανου AB; κουλκιανου C.

32 [ι']: from BC.

34 According to Ghedini (*Lettere Cristiane*, pp. 74 seq.) the lector's main business was to read the scriptures at meetings of the faithful. His ignorance of Greek here indicates that the service in this village church was in Coptic, cf. Hardy, *Christian Egypt*, pp. 34 seqq.

(*πρόκειται*): in all three copies only *ω* is written; the cap of sigma is drawn downwards into a long descender to indicate the abbreviation.

2674. PETITION TO A PREFECT

12 × 10.5 cm.

A.D. 308

Hardly anything of the purport of this document can be discovered because of the great length of the lacunae at the ends of the surviving lines. But the date can be recovered with certainty as far as the year is concerned, and the name of the prefect Valerius Victorinus, is new and valuable for the elucidation of an error in the latest lists of prefects (3 n.).

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡ[μῶν] [αὐ]τοκρατόρων[
 Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ἔβδ[ο]μο[ν] πρὸ τεσσάρων[
 Οὐαλερίῳ Οὐίκτωρινῳ τῷ διασημότητῳ ἐπ[ά]ρχῳ
 5 Ὁξ(υρρυχι)τῶν πόλεως· ὁ κύριός μου διασημότητος κ[
 βιας δ... μων τῶν στρατηγῶν 'καὶ τοῦ κρεῖβα' ἀνακόπτειν μάλιστα[
 εἰς ἐ[μ]εῖ ἀπὸ κληρονομίας τῶν γονέων μου ταπ.[
 ...].[...]. πληρου, αν οἱ ἀνηράμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' .[
 ...].[...].[...]. καὶ εἶρξέν με εἰς τ[ὸ] δημοσι[
 ...].[...]. νης[...]. μενους [[απο]] πλ.[...]. τὰ ὑπερε.[
 10 καὶ ὦνησι [κ]αὶ ἐσχηκότων τ[ῆν] ἡκυχίαν ἢ γὰρ[
 ξέν μου τὰ προσόντα τῆ πενί[α] μου δίκαια ...[
 καὶ γεωργούντων[...].[...]. ἰζομ[...].[...].[
 ποιήσασθαι προς.[...].[...]. φα[...].[...].[
 ἀλλ' [ἐ]πειδὴ ὁ προκιμ[...].[...].[...].[
 15 ἐπιπαροντος χω.[
[
 4 οξ' των pap. 7 οιδ' pap.

3 Both C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets*, and J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte*, refer to a Valerius Victorinianus supposed to be prefect of Egypt in A.D. 308. The supposition rests on the evidence of P. Lond. Inv. 2226, not published in full but most lately described by Lallemand, *op. cit.*, p. 265. This is a petition addressed to the prefect Aelius Hyginus in September, A.D. 308 and referring to an earlier judgement made, according to the restored text, *παρὰ τῷ διασημ[ότ]ατα*

2674. PETITION TO A PREFECT

109

[sic] ἡγεμό[ν]ι Οὐαλ]. Οὐίκτωρειν[ανφ]. However, P. Strassb. 296 shows Victorinianus acting as *praeses Thebaidos* in A.D. 326 and the other undated documents on which the above restoration is based (Vandersleyen, pp. 106-8) reveal him in the same capacity. This passage shows that the London papyrus is wrongly restored. Read *παρὰ τῷ διασημ[ότ]ατα ἡγεμο[ν]εύσαντ[ι] Οὐίκτωρεῖν[φ]. διασημότητος* is correct and guarantees a following participle, v. 2104 20, cf. *Stud. Pal.* xx 64, 8. The remains of the consular date here indicate the same year as the London papyrus, A.D. 308 (Diocletian for the 10th time, Galerius for the 7th). *Σεβαστοῦ*, in the singular, shows that A.D. 303 (Diocletian 8, Maximian 7) need not be considered and this is supported by documents showing Clodius Culcianus in office as prefect in A.D. 303. So Victorinianus was a praeses in office in A.D. 326 (P. Strassb. 296), while Victorinus was a prefect in office in A.D. 308, but succeeded before September of that year by Aelius Hyginus (P. Lond. Inv. 2226 and 2674).

4 κ[αθολικός? κ[ηρίτωρ? v. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate*, pp. 4 seq.

5 Before εἰς ἐ[μ]εῖ supply probably some part of *καταντῶν*.

8 δημόσι[ον λογιστήριον? cf. P. Beatty Panop. i 228, 346, 350.

9 [[ἀπο]]πλη[ρ]εῖν for *πλήσειν?*

12 seq. There is no obvious reason for the indentation of these two lines either in the text or in the state of the papyrus.

2675. NOMINATION FOR A LITURGY

11 × 26 cm.

15 January, A.D. 318

There are two copies of this presentation to a liturgy in different hands. The text is that of the more complete one, but the other has preserved the second name of the logistes. The main interest lies in the mention of the cutters (*ἀλιάδες*) of the *cursus velox*, which have appeared comparatively rarely, cf. P. Beatty Panop. i 60, 252 ii 275 and notes.

ὑπατείας τ[ῶν] δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν
 Λικυνίου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ Κρίσπου
 τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α'·
 Οὐαλερίῳ Ἀμμωνιανῷ τῷ καὶ
 5 Γερωντίῳ λογιστῆ Ὁξυρυχείτου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίῳ Εὐστοχίου Κοπρέως
 κυστάτου τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὁξυρυγ-
 χ[ε]ιτῶν πόλεως· δίδωμι εἰς ναυ-
 τι[κ]ήν ὑπηρεσίαν ἀλιάδων γραμμα-
 10 τηφόρων τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου τῶν
 ἀπὸ α' Θῶθ ἕως Μεσορῆ ἐπα-
 γομ[ένων] ε' καὶ αὐτῆς (ε') τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-
 τ[ο]ς ἔτους β' καὶ ι' καὶ β'
 τοῦ ἐξῆς ἐγ' γεγραμμένους ὄντας

- 15 ἐπιτ]ηδίου πρὸς τὴν χρίαν·
εἰς δέ· Αὐρήλι[οι]
Παυσανίας Ἀφροδισίου μη(τρὸς) Τρωφελᾶτος
Ἀπφοῦς Ἀπφοῦτος μη(τρὸς) Ἀρείας
ἀμφοτέρω ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως·
20 ὑπατεία(ς) τῆς προκειμένης· Τύβι κ'
Αὐρήλιος Εὐστόχιος συστάτης ἐπιδέ-
δωκα

'In the consulship of our lords Licinius Augustus, for the fifth time, and Crispus, the most noble Caesar, for the first time.

'To Valerius Ammonianus, also called Gerontius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Eustochius, son of Copreus, systates of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I present for naval service on the letter-carrying cutters of the *cursus velox* from 1st Thoth to the fifth of the intercalary days of Mesore, and including the fifth, of the present twelfth, tenth and second year, the undermentioned persons, who are fit for the office.

'They are Aurelius Pausanias, son of Aphrodisius, whose mother is Taophelas and Aurelius Apphous, son of Apphous, whose mother is Areia, both from the same city.

'In the aforesaid consulship, 20th Tybi.

'I Aurelius Eustochius, systates, submitted this document.'

4 The logistes also appears in 53, 84, 896, and 983 all of A.D. 316, and in PSI 454 of A.D. 320.

6 The systates is new.

12 <ε> supplied from the second copy, and cf., e.g., 1116, PSI 1108.

13 12 Constantine, 10 Licinius; 2 Crispus, Constantine jun. and Licinius jun., as Caesars, i.e. A.D. 317-18, cf. 1574.

20 Tybi 20th = 15 Jan. A.D. 318. This seems a very late date for nomination to a liturgy supposed to run from 29 Aug. 317 to 28 Aug. 318.

PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2676. LEASE OF LAND

7.8 × 32.2 cm.

14 October, A.D. 151

A long and well-preserved lease, distinguished by its elaborate detail and by two novelties of phrasing (13-14, 20). The writer begins ἐπιδέχομαι, but describes the document as ἀναφόριον (26, 44).

- Λου[κί]ω Διογένει καὶ ὡς χρηματί-
ζει παρὰ Ἀμοιᾶτος Διονυσίου
ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως Περσῶν τῆς
ἐπειγονῆς. ἐπιδέχομαι γεωργή-
5 και τὴν γῆν ἐπ' ἔτη τέσσαρα βροχᾶς
τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιε[ς]
Ἀντωνείνου καίσα[ρ]ος τοῦ κυρίου

2676. LEASE OF LAND

- ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγραφομένων εἰς αὐτὸν
βασιλικῶν ἔδαφῶν περὶ Σινκέφα
10 ἐκ τοῦ Δήδουος κλή[ρ]ου ἀρούρας ἕξ
ἡμῶν τέταρτον, ὥστε ταῦτα
τῷ μὲν ιε[ς] καὶ ιζ[ς] σπεῖραι καὶ ξυλα-
μῆσαι οἷς ἐὰν αἰρηῆται ἄγενεσι' χωρὶς τελωνι-
κῶν σπόρων, ἐκφορίου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔτ(ο)
15 λαχανοσπ[έρμου ἀρ]ταβῶν δέκα, καὶ
τῷ ις[ς]' καὶ ἐσχάτῳ ἔτεσι δυεὶ σπεῖ-
ραι πυρῶ, ἐκφορίου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔ-
τος πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν τεσσαράκοντα,
σπονδῆς κατ' ἕ[τ]το[ς] οἴνου κεραμίου
20 ἐνὸς ὁ κοινῆ [.]θῆσεται, ἀκίνδυ-
να τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἀπότακτα ἅπαντος
κινδύνου, τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς δημοσί-
ων ὄντων πρὸς τὸν μεμισθωκότα
ὄν καὶ κυριεύειν τῶν καρπῶν
25 ἕως ἂν τὰ κατ' ἔτος ἀπότακτα κομί-
σῃται· βεβαιουμέ[ν]ου δὲ τοῦ ἀναφορίου
ἀποδότω ὁ μεμε[ισθ]ωμένος τὰ κατ' ἔ-
τος ἀπότακτα ἀ[εὶ τ]ῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ
τὸ μὲν λαχανόσπερμον ἐφ' ἀλώ-
30 νων Σινκέφα νέον καθαρὸν ἄδωλον
ἄβωλον κεκοκκινευμένον μέτρῳ
τετραχοινείκῳ Λογγείνου ἀπολυ-
σίμου τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ποιουμένων
τὴν μέτρησιν, τὸν δὲ πυρὸν τοῦ εἰ-
35 σιόντος ἔτους κατ' ἔτος μετρέιτω
εἰ[ς] δημόσιον θησαυρὸν Σινκέφα
καὶ ἀναδότω τὸ τούτων θέμα καθαρὸν
ἀπὸ πάς(ης) δαπάνης· καὶ ἡ πράξις ἔστ(ω)
τῷ μεμισθωκότῳ ἐκ τε τοῦ μεμισθ(ωμένου)
40 καὶ ἐκ (τῶν) ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων
καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄβροχ(ος)
γένηται τοῖς ἕξ[ς] ἔτεσι παραδεχθήσεται(αι)
τῷ μεμισθ(ωμένῳ) πρὸς ἀνάλογον. κύρι[[α ἢ μίσθ(ωσις)]]ον

τὸ ἀναφόριον. Λ ιε' αὐτοκράτορος καίσαρος
 45 Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἄντωνείνου σεβαστοῦ
 εὐσεβοῦς Φαῶφι 15. (2nd hd.) Ἀμοιτᾶς
 Διονυσίου ἐπιδέχομαι
 (3rd hd.) γεωργῆσαι τῆν γῆν ἐπὶ τὰ
 τέσσαρα ἔτη καὶ ἀποδώσω
 50 τὰ δηλούμενα κατ' ἔτος ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)
 Διονύσιος τωτῶ ἔγραψα
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότης
 γράμματα. χρόνος δ' α(ὐτός).

3 l. Πέρου? 30 l. ἄδολον

'To Lucius Diogenes and however he is styled, from Amoitias son of Dionysius, of Oxyrhynchus, Persians of the succession. I undertake to farm the land for four years, four inundations, from the present 15th year of Antoninus Caesar the lord—six and three-quarters arourae of the royal ground which is registered to him (Diogenes) around Sincepha, being part of the estate of Dedys. These arourae he (Amoitias) is to sow and plant in the 15th and 17th years with whatever crops he chooses except sown crops subject to farmed taxes: at a fixed rent yearly of ten artabae of vegetable seed. And in two years, the 16th and the last, he is to sow them with wheat: at a fixed rent yearly of forty artabae of wheat. Additional payment yearly of one jar of wine, which shall be . . . in common. The yearly fixed payments are free of every risk. The public dues on the land rest with the lessor, who is also to remain owner of the produce until he receives the yearly fixed payments. And if the application is guaranteed, let the lessee hand over the yearly fixed payments in the month Payni on each occasion: the vegetable seed on the thrashing-floors of Sincepha—fresh seed, pure, unadulterated, without earth, sieved, measured by the four-choenix measure of Longinus the veteran, with his (the lessor's) own men doing the measuring; the wheat for the coming year let him measure out yearly into the public granary of Sincepha, and let him make this deposit free from all expenses. Let the lessor have the right of execution on the lessee and also on all his property as if by a court decision. If some of the land fails to be inundated in the following years, a proportionate reduction shall be made for the lessee. The application is valid. Year 15 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Phaophi 16.

(2nd hd.) I, Amoitias son of Dionysius, undertake (3rd hd.) to farm the land for the four years, and I shall hand over the afore-mentioned payments yearly, as above. I, Dionysius . . ., wrote for him since he is illiterate. Same date.'

10 Δήδουος: I cannot parallel the name, but the letters seem clear.

13-14 τελωνικῶν σπόρων: I suppose 'crops in which tax can be paid'—chiefly wheat (17). Normally the exceptions are specified: e.g. 1279 16-18 χωρὶς πυροῦ καὶ ἰσάπεως καὶ ἔχομενίου. Does the phrase occur elsewhere?

20 δ κοινῆ .[.]θήσεται: the trace is a short vertical, with a hole above it: γ, π, τ, perhaps ν. I can find no helpful parallel. π[ο]θήσεται would mean 'shall be drunk'. More probably τ[ε]θήσεται: 'shall be put out' for drinking? 'shall be deposited'? κοινῆ presumably means 'by lessor and lessee in common'.

42 τοῖς ἐξῆς ἔτεσι goes with what precedes: 101 24 and (in different words) 1125 10.

43 κυρία ἢ μισθῶ was written first; then the scribe corrected -α η into ον, and crossed out the rest.

47 seqq. Amoitias wrote the first three words of the subscription in messy and uncertain letters. Dionysius wrote the remainder in a rapid and compressed cursive which is difficult to read. In 51 I guess Διονύσιος δ' π(αρά) Παποντῶτο(ς) ἔγραψα: δ is open to the right, like a sigma; π(αρά), as often, a tall antisigma. Seemingly not δ κ(αί).

2677. FORMULA OF DEPOSIT

13.3 × 14.7 cm.

Second century A.D.

This piece carries two texts, both written across the fibres. On one side are some accounts, legible only in part and cut off at the foot. On the other is 2677, which occupies less than two-thirds of the available area. It is clear that the accounts came first; the papyrus was then cut down for re-use.

The accounts deal with stone and brick-work at various places in the Oxyrhynchite nome (Sko, Peenno, Nemerai). One item begins *συνισφοράς χρυσῶν*. The cursive belongs to the later first or earlier second century.

2677 is written in a careful half-cursive of the second century. The text is a formula: a model contract of deposit, which replaces specific names and figures by forms of *τις*, etc. The replacement is systematic and the form quite general: contrast, e.g., 509 and 1034, actual contracts which omit only a few details (Mitteis, SZ (RA) 31 (1910), 392). SB 9226 offers a close parallel (JJP 4 (1950), 210).

K. Kastner, *Die zivilrechtliche Verwahrung*, collects and analyses the surviving contracts of deposit. There is no lack of documents which take the same general outline as 2677: cf. especially 1039 and 1713. But I have found nothing that repeats every detail.

τίς τις τοῦ τις μητ(ρός) τινός ποθέν
 τινί τις τοῦ τις μητ(ρός) τινός ποθεν
 χαίρειν· ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ διὰ
 5 χ[ει]ρ[δ] ἐν παραθέσει ἀργ(υρίου) (δρ.) ποσὰς γί(νονται) (δρ.) ποσαί·
 ἄς κ[α] [ἀ]ποδώσω σοι ὀπηνίκα ἐὰν αἰρήν ἄν-
 υπε[ρ]θέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτείσω σοι κατὰ τὸν
 [τῶν] παραθηκῶν νόμον γενομένης
 σοι τῆς πράξεως ἕκ τε ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑ-
 παρχόντων μοι πάντων καθάπερ ἐκ
 10 δίκης· κυρία ἢ χεῖρ τῆς παραθήκης οὐδ' αὖ μου
 τοῦ τις ἰδιόγραφος [δικ]τῆ γραφεία παν-
 ταχῆ ἐπιφερομένη καὶ παντὶ τῶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ
 ἐπιφέροντι. Λ! .[.]!

'X son of X and grandson of X, mother X, from X, to X son of X and grandson of X mother X, from X, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from you by hand on deposit X dr. silver, making X dr.; the which I shall return to you whenever you choose, without delay; and if I do not, I shall pay forfeit to you in accordance with the law of deposits, you having the right of execution on

me and on all my property just as by a court decision. The instrument of deposit, being written by me X in my own hand, in two copies, is valid, wherever produced and whoever produces it on your behalf. (Date)

4 χ[ε]ρ[δ]ε: this is divination, for the traces are exiguous. But I cannot find another reading which fits the space. This formula, e.g., 1039 6-7.

5 ἀκ κ[α]: κ is probable. Not ἀκπ[ε]ρ.

7 [τῶν] παραθηκῶν: τῶν is short (the equivalent space in lines 6 and 8 accommodates five letters). But the parallels (Kastner 41-45) suggest no other supplement; and the letters may have been widely spaced to avoid a ridge in the writing surface, as with (ὑπαρχόν)των in 9.

11 [διδ]ε: e.g. 1039 17. [τρι]ε looks too long.

13 After ἐπιφέρωντι there are three traces, each joining the next: first a right-angle, the usual εἶρου sign; then a prolonged rising stroke, whose beginning intersects the lower limb of the εἶρου sign; then the back of a curve, most like an *epsilon* written rather above the line. After a short lacuna come the double strokes which mark a numeral.

2678. INVITATION TO A MARRIAGE-FEAST

9.5 × 5.5 cm.

Third century. A.D.

This invitation is written across the fibres in a practised cursive hand of the third century. It mentions a temple of Sabazius, presumably in Oxyrhynchus and not previously known; in fact this is apparently the first Egyptian reference to him.

↓

ἔρωτᾶ σε Διοσκοροῦς δειπνή-
σαι εἰς γάμους τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆ ἰδ
τοῦ Μεσορή ἐν τῷ Καβαζείῳ
ἀπὸ ὥρ(α)ς θ̄· διευτύχει.

4 ρ pap.

'Dioscorus invites you to dine at the wedding of her son on the 14th of Mesore in the temple of Sabazius from the ninth hour. Farewell.'

4 θ̄: according to my rough calculations using the method and the table in F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch d. math. u. techn. Chronologie*, ii 166 seqq., the ninth hour at the latitude of Oxyrhynchus in mid-August would begin about ten past two in the afternoon.

PRIVATE LETTERS

2679. LETTER FROM ONESIMUS

6.5 × 11.4 cm.

Second century A.D.

A business note from Onesimus to Aurelius Sarapion. The note may have been enclosed in the packet of papers (l. 4), since the back carries no address.

2679. LETTER FROM ONESIMUS

᾽Ονήσιμος Αὐρηλίῳ Σαρα-
πίωνι ἀδελ(φῶ) Ἀθηναίου
τῷ φιλτάτῳ χαίρειν.
κομίσαι τὰ οἰκονομῖδια
5 ἀπηρτισμένα. ἔπεμ-
ψά σοι πρὸ τούτων διὰ
᾽Οσοράπιος ἱερέως
τὴν οὐγκίαν τῆς πορ-
φύρας καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ
10 διὰ Πολυδεύκου βι-
βλία· περὶ ὧν δήλω-
σον. ἀσπάζου τὸν ἀβάς-
καντον υἱὸν καὶ πάν-
τας τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ.
15 ἐρρωσθαί σε εὐχομ(αι).

'Onesimus to his very dear Aurelius Sarapion brother of Athenaeus, greetings. Herewith the documents, completed. Before these I sent you by the hand of Osorapis the priest, the ounce of purple, and before him books (papers?) by the hand of Polydeuces. Let me know about them. Give my best wishes to your son, whom the evil eye shall not touch, and to everyone in the house. I pray for your health.'

1-2 Αὐρηλίῳ Σαραπίωνι: an Aurelius before the Constitutio Antoniniana? Notice that Onesimus gives himself no praenomen, although he writes on terms of equality. ἀδελ(φῶ) Ἀθηναίου is an unexpected qualification, but the letters seem inescapable.

4 οἰκονομῖδια: not in *WB* or *LSJ*.

7 ᾽Οσοράπιος: a very rare name (P. Lond. ii 258, 126 (p. 32) ᾽Ο]σοράπιος). Properly this is the god's name Serapis in fuller transcription: *UPZ* i, p. 26. Or did the writer intend διὰ (τοῦ τοῦ) ᾽Οσοράπιος ἱερέως?

8-11 Turner suggests that the books and the purple go together: purple-stained wrappers for bookrolls are well attested (Martial 3, 2; 5, 6; 8, 72; 10, 93; Lucian *Merc. Cond.* 41; perhaps Catullus 22, 7); similarly purple-stained title-slips (Fordyce on Catullus 22, 7).

2680. LETTER FROM ARSINOE TO SARAPIAS

12 × 24 cm.

Second/Third century A.D.

There is little of scientific interest in this letter except a reference to a possible softness of the roads, presumably after the inundation, but there is a certain charm in the independent tone of the woman who sent it, as she undertakes to collect the rents from her friend's tenant farmer, although not quite satisfied that the matter is being handled in a businesslike way.

→

Ἀρσινόη{ι}· Σαραπί[α]δι τῆ[ι]
 ἀδελφῆι χα[ί]ρειν·
 Ἀχιλλᾶτος καταπλέοντος
 ἀναγκαῖον ἔγνω διὰ γραπτῶ
 5 σε ἀσπᾶσθαι· περὶ οὗ μοι ἔγρα-
 ψας ὅτι ἐτελέσθη, καλῶς ποι-
 ῆσεις δοῦσα αὐτὸ Ἀχιλλᾶτι τῶι
 ἀδελφῶ μου ἵνα μοι αὐτὸ ἐνέγκῃ·
 κόμμαι δι' αὐτοῦ Ἀχιλλᾶτος ταρεί-
 10 χων κεράμιον .[.] ξίμος· ἐὰν αἱ
 ὁδοὶ στερεωθ[ῶσι] εὐθέως ἀπε-
 λύξομαι πρὸς τὸν γεωργόν σου
 καὶ αἰτήσω αὐτὸν τὰ ἐκφόρια σου·
 ἐὰν ἄρα μοι αὐτὰ δοῖ· ἔδει γὰρ σε
 15 ἐπιστολὴν μοι πέμψαι πρὸς αὐ-
 τόν· ὅμως εἰ πάλι(ν) προέγραψας αὐ-
 τῶ ἐμ[ο]ῖ αὐτὰ δοῦναι, ἀπελ[ε]ύσομαι
 καὶ λήμφομαι αὐτά· ἄσπασαι Πολυ-
 κράτην καὶ τοὺς σοὺς πάντας· ἀσπάζε-
 20 ταί σε Πόλητα καὶ Δημητροῦς· ἐάν
 τι θέλ[η]ς πεμφθῆναί σοι, γράψον μοι
 καὶ εὐθέως σοι πέμψω· τὸ κεράμιον
 τῶν ταρειχίων διὰ τὸ συμπεπτωκέναι
 ἐπέπλησα· τὰ δὲ ὑποκάτω κρειττό-
 25 να ἔστιν τῶν ἐπάνω· ἔρρ' ὠ'(σο)·
 Χοιάκ κζ̄

Verso. → ἀπὸ Ἀρσινόης Σαραπίადι γυναικὶ Πολυκράτ(ου)·

14 l. δφ

'Arsinoe to her sister Sarapias, greeting. Since Achilles was going downstream I decided that I must greet you in writing. As for the thing that you wrote me was finished, you will do me a favour if you give it to my brother Achilles so that he may bring it to me. Receive from the same Achilles a jar of pickle . . . If the roads are firm I shall go off immediately to your farmer and ask him for your rents; if indeed he will give them to me. For you ought to have sent me a letter to him. Nevertheless if you have again written in advance to him to give them to me I shall go off and collect them. Greet Polycrates and all your people. Poleta greets you, and Demetrous. If you want anything sent to you, write to me and I will send it you immediately. I topped up the jar of pickle because it had sunk in. The bottom layers are better than the top ones. Farewell. Choiak, 27th.'

(Address.) From Arsinoe to Sarapias the wife of Polycrates.

10 .[.] ξίμος: this was perhaps an adjective intended to agree with *κεράμιον*, even though elsewhere in this letter the rules of grammar are properly observed. None is obvious; perhaps *μίξιμον*, 'mixed', *πράξιμον*, 'subject to duty', and *τρώξιμον*, 'edible' are among the best. The traces are very scanty. Support for *τρώξιμον* may be found in the Greek-Latin glossaries (*CGL* ii 13, 41, iii 317, 22; 430, 35), where *τρώξιμα* are equated with *acetaria*, i.e. pickled vegetables (v. Pliny *NH* 19, 4, 19 § 58).

11 στερεωθῶσι: cf. 26 n.

14 δοῖ: cf. P. Mich. 510, 24 n.

20 Πόλητα: doubtfully read; cf. Πόλητα in *NB*.

25 ἔρρωσο and the date may be by a different hand.

26 Χοιάκ κζ̄: according to the official calendar this would be 22 December—or, in the case of a leap year, the 23rd, which fits in well with the possible softness of the roads, because it is just about then that the Nile flood ends.

2681. BUSINESS LETTER

10 × 14 cm.

Third century A.D.

This brief business letter contains a puzzling reference to two peoples living in the Mareotic nome (Ptol. iv 5, 24), whose connexion with Oxyrhynchus is hard to see. One of the correspondents may have been an Oxyrhynchite serving as a government official in the north of the country (v. *JEA* viii 166 seqq.). The Goniotae and Mastitae have also appeared in disorderly but obscure circumstances in a papyrus fragment from Heracleopolis (BGU 935)¹ and a man from the domain of the Goniotae is a party to a contract in *SPP* xx 45, 2, where the other party is also from Lower Egypt.

On the back is a fragment of an account of wages for a vineyard worker. Both documents are written across the fibres, but it appears that the letter is later because the papyrus has been cut to fit it.

↓ Εὐδαίμων Ζωιλᾶ φρον' τ'(ιστῆ)
 χαίρειν
 τὸ ἐπιστολεῖδιον δι' Ἐλευ-
 θέρου ἔπεμψα [.] τῶ
 5 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς· ἔστι
 ὅτι οἱ Γωνιώται ἐσχί-
 κασι στρατιώτας παρὰ
 τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐπὶ ζή-
 τησι τῶν Μαστιτῶν·
 10 εἴτε οὖν κριθὴν εἴτε
 φακῆν εἴτε χόρτον
 σύνλεξον καὶ πάτησον
 πρ(ι)ν θόρυβον γενέσθαι·
 ἔρρωσο·

¹ Lallemand takes *καταδραμόντων τοὺς τόπους* (BGU 935 4, cf. 8) to mean that they were actually attacking Heracleopolis (*L'Administration*, p. 31). If so, Oxyrhynchus too may have been threatened.

'Eudaemon to Zoilas the steward, greeting. I sent the letter by the hand of Eleutherus to the official in charge of the loading. Learn that the Goniotaie have had soldiers from the prefect to investigate the Mastitae. So then, collect either barley or lentils or grass, and thrash it, before trouble starts. Farewell.'

4-5 τῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς: cf. Börner, *Der staatl. Korntransport*, p. 25.

6 Γωνιώται: the text of Ptolemy (l.c.) is reported as Γωνιάται; all the papyrus references have omega.

11 χόρτον. There is a doubt whether πατεῖν denotes the same procedure in relation to χόρτος as it does in relation to the usual grain crops. Schnebel (p. 218) thought that it meant compressing hay by treading. *LSJ* (s.v. πατεῖν citing P. Flor. 388 5) thought it meant thrashing grass to provide seeds. Possibly this passage lends some support to *LSJ*, but it is not unambiguous.

2682. LETTER FROM AMMONIS

9.4 × 26 cm.

Third to fourth century A.D.

An illiterate letter, much defaced by offsets. The content offers nothing of interest except the mention of a citharode (21-22).

Ἀμμῶνις Θερμουτίων
 τῷ ἀδελφῷ πλείστα χαίρειν.
 πρὸ μὲν πάντων τὸ προσ-
 κίνημά σου πυῶ καθ' ἑκάστην
 5 ἡμέραν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. ἔπεμ-
 ψαί μοι Διονύσιος ὅτι 'πάντα
 εἴληφαι Θερμουτίων' καὶ
 οὐδέν μοι ἔπεμψας· πᾶν
 οὖν ποίησον, ἀδελφαι, πέμ-
 10 ψον μοι τὸ μαφόρτιον καὶ
 τὸ δερματίκιον λινούν
 καὶ παρὶ οὗ ἴρηκά σοι λωδικί-
 ου· οἶδές μου γὰρ τὸ μέτριον,
 ὅτι χρήζω αὐτῶν· Ἡκοιχίω
 15 αὐτὰ δός. ἀσπάζαιταί σοι
 ἡ κύμβιός μου, ἀσπάζαιταί
 σοι ἡ θυγάτηρ μου Θεωνίλλα
 ἀσπάζω . . . α τὸν ἀδελ-
 φόν μου Σταίφανον.

2682. LETTER FROM AMMONIS

20 ἐρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.
 ἀσπάζω Ἀμμῶνιν τὸν κι-
 θαρῳδόν

(Back, along the fibres) . . . Θερμουτίω(σφρα)γι παρὰ
 Ἀμμωνίου ἀδελφοῦ.

4 l. ποιῶ 5 πρᾶ 6 l. -ψε 7 l. εἴληφε 9 l. ἀδελφε 11 l. δελ- 12 l. περὶ οὗ
 εἴρηκα 14 l. Ἡκοιχίω 15, 16 l. ἀσπάζεται σοι 18 Possibly ἀσπάζω πολλά 19 l. Σταίφανον
 20 l. ἐρῶσθαι

'Ammonis to Thermouthion his brother, very many greetings. Before all else I make obeisance every day on your behalf before (the?) god. Dionysius wrote me that 'Thermouthion has received everything', and you have sent me nothing. So exert yourself, brother, send me the veil and the linen cloak and the blanket I spoke about to you. You know my humble circumstances—that I need the things. Give them to Hesyehius. My wife sends you her good wishes. My daughter Theonilla sends you her good wishes. I send . . . good wishes to my brother Stephanus. I pray for your health. I send my good wishes to Ammonis the harpist-singer.'

(Back) ' . . . Thermouthion from his brother Ammonius.'

18, 21 ἀσπάζω: for ἀσπάζομαι? or for ἀσπάζου?

21-22 κιθαρῳδόν: we know of a citharode in the later third century B.C. (SB 8855, 41), and of another in A.D. 288 (2476 20 and 26): both belonged to the Dionysiac artists, and the second was an officer of the synod. This seems a rare bird for the undistinguished Ammonis to know.

ADDENDA TO 2656

132-6. E. W. H., taking the supposed dicolon at end of 135 as uncertain, regards the section from ἐμοὶ μαχεῖ 132 to 136 (at least) as reported dialogue, suggesting φησί in 133, τί in 135 (interrogative rather than enclitic, for the postponement cf. his n. *Dyskolos of Menander* index s.v.), [ἐ]τῆς in 136. 'Why did she stop him in his tracks?—he was happy and enviable.' 'She knows her own affairs best.'

204 W. Bühler, *Hermes* 94 (1966), pp. 410-13; Ammonius, ed. Kl. Nickau, 171 app.

222 seqq. K. Kumaniecki, *Eos*, lv (1965), pp. 57-58 restores these lines as follows:

223	ΓΕΤΑC	οὕτω γελοῖος· οὐκ [ἄν ἀϊόμην ἐγώ.]
		τίς εἰ πόθεν θ' [ἦκεις . . .]
225	ΔΗΜΕΑC	αὐτὸς πορε[ύομαι, πατήρ δ' ἄν τυγχάνω]
		ταύτης: (ΓΡΑΥC) ἀληθῶς [τῆς κόρης ταύτης πατήρ]
		ὁδ' ἐστὶν ὁ γέρον: (ΓΕΤΑC) λαμ[βάνειν ταύτην θέλει.]
		τί τοῦτο; καὶ εὐ γράδιον [τί μοι ταδὶ]
230		[λα]λεῖς; πόθεν, βέλτιστ', [ἀπωθεν ἦλθες ἦ]
		οἴκοθεν; κτλ.

234. M. Gigante, *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Ediz. Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini* (Accademia naz. dei Lincei), n.s. xv (1966), pp. 20-21 takes both κοινός and ἐχθρός as adjectives, 'fodiosa guerra comune' ('horrid total war'), relying on examples of the phrase κοινός πόλεμος in Xen. *Hiero* ii. 8, and in inscriptions. To me the intrusion of ἐχθρός as second adjective between the adjective and noun constituting κοινός πόλεμος as a technical phrase rules out the possibility of understanding such a technical sense.

246 seqq. In March 1967 I was able to examine the original of O 1 in the Cairo Museum, and to rearrange the fragments in their frame. The readings]κε: νπον 249 and]και 250 are confirmed. But the supposed η of κυνη[(in *B.I.C.S.*) is very doubtful. The papyrus is stripped along a vertical break. The two remaining spots of ink could be part of ζ, κ, χ, π, τ, even ν, but hardly of η.

264 [οὐ] is not verifiable, but the traces do not favour μηκέτι.

269 The marginal note could be read εἰσιο.[.].[, i.e. εἰσιόν[τ]ε[.]

303. M. Gigante (l.c. addenda 234), pp. 16-18, points out that in the proverb δε δρίνει, δε is feminine (Alcaeus Z 70 LP has πάλιν ἂ εὐς παρορίνει). If δρίνει could be accommodated metrically (e.g. by omitting τὸ of τὸ τοῦ λόγου), the train of thought would lead from Demeas (subject of λάβοι) to Krateia (the δε, on whose behalf Demeas is fighting and whose supposed victimization makes Demeas more than usually obdurate) and thus to Thrasonides' renewed and ineffectual appeals to Krateia (ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦτο δεινόν, 304).

304 In view of the warped surface it seems possible that τουτοαλγεινο[(i.e. τοῦτ' ἀλγεινόν) might be read in mid-verse.

304-5. The unmetrical ταυτη has been corrected by most commentators to αὔτη, subject of a verb at the opening of the following verse governing restored λεγοντος. None of the suggested verbs are palaeographically acceptable, and as it is not likely that this scribe would write the iota in a contracted active form, an ending in -ται is most probable. ἄγεται might be forced on to the traces, but not δαται (Hesych. ἀτιμάζεται, μέμφεται). The initial letter might, however, be δ, not α (cf. the same choice in 320 and elsewhere), and if so δεῖται could be accommodated to the traces, i.e. 'he [Thrasonides] is asking her again' (correct to αὐτῆς, cf. *Epitrep.* 613 in a similar situation; πάλιν is very

effective this way). I do not see what to make of λ . . . τος (that it should be λέγοντος was a makeshift solution).

306. In 310 ἐάν μ' ἐγκαταλίπη the action involved in the verb has a future reference. Nevertheless in 306 ἐγκαταλείπη could have present aspect and be defended by comparison with those examples of μή with present subjunctive and present reference which are usually emended (Kühner-Gerth i, p. 220, n. 1). In a letter of 251 B.C., *P.S.I.* iv. 361, 10, the writer originally wrote μή μ' ἐγκαταλείπη and then deleted ε to make ἐγκαταλίπη.

464 C. A.'s conjecture πρεπόντως satisfies the space; the 3rd letter could be ε, and the last c, but the remaining traces cannot be verified. C. A. compares Plaut. *Casina* 1015 manibus meritis meritam mercedem dare, and suggests continuing π[ντες ἐπικροτήσατε].

INDEXES

(The figures 26 are to be supplied before 54-82. The conventions used in Index I (MENANDER) are those of Körte-Thierfelder, and an asterisk indicates dubia. Elsewhere an asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon; square brackets indicate that a word is supplied from other sources or by conjecture; a reference enclosed in round brackets indicates an interlinear comment.)

I. NEW LITERARY TEXTS: MENANDER 2654-2658

54 = Karchedonios
55 = Kolax

56-57 = Misoumenos
58 = Fabula Incerta

* = dubia

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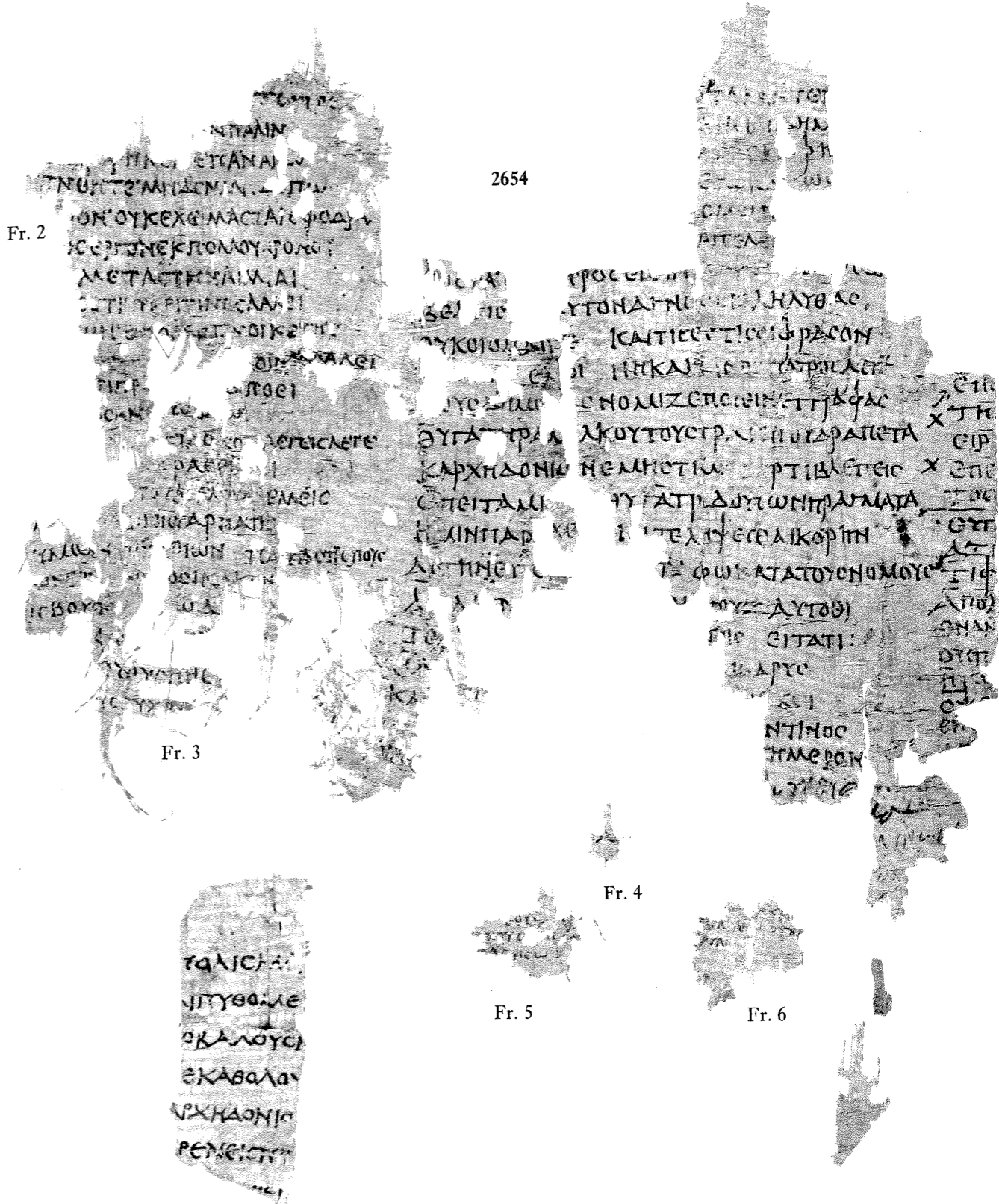
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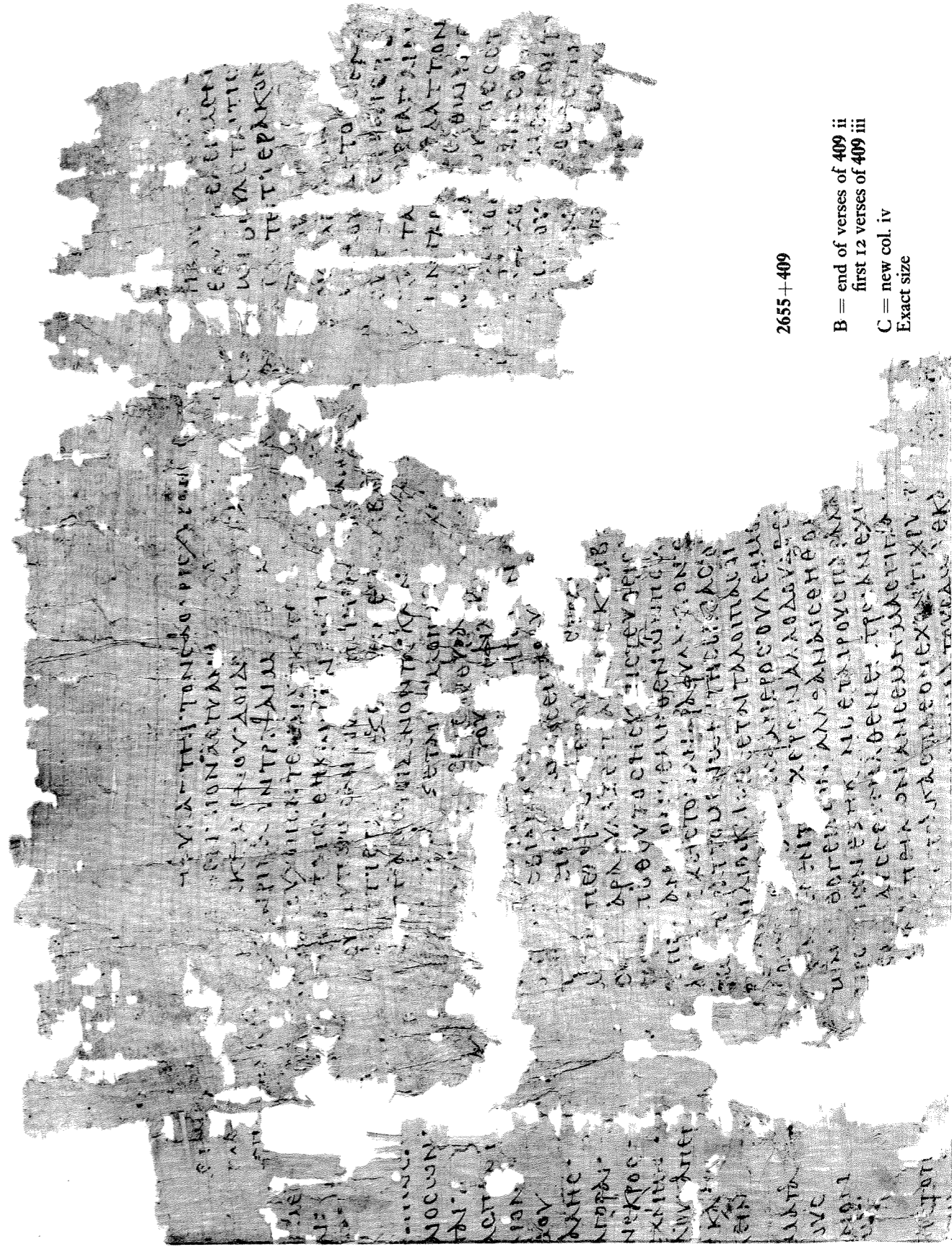
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first 12 verses of 409 iii

C = new col. iv
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 ΤΑΙΟ. ΕΤΚ. Μ. Π. Ν. ΑΙΤ
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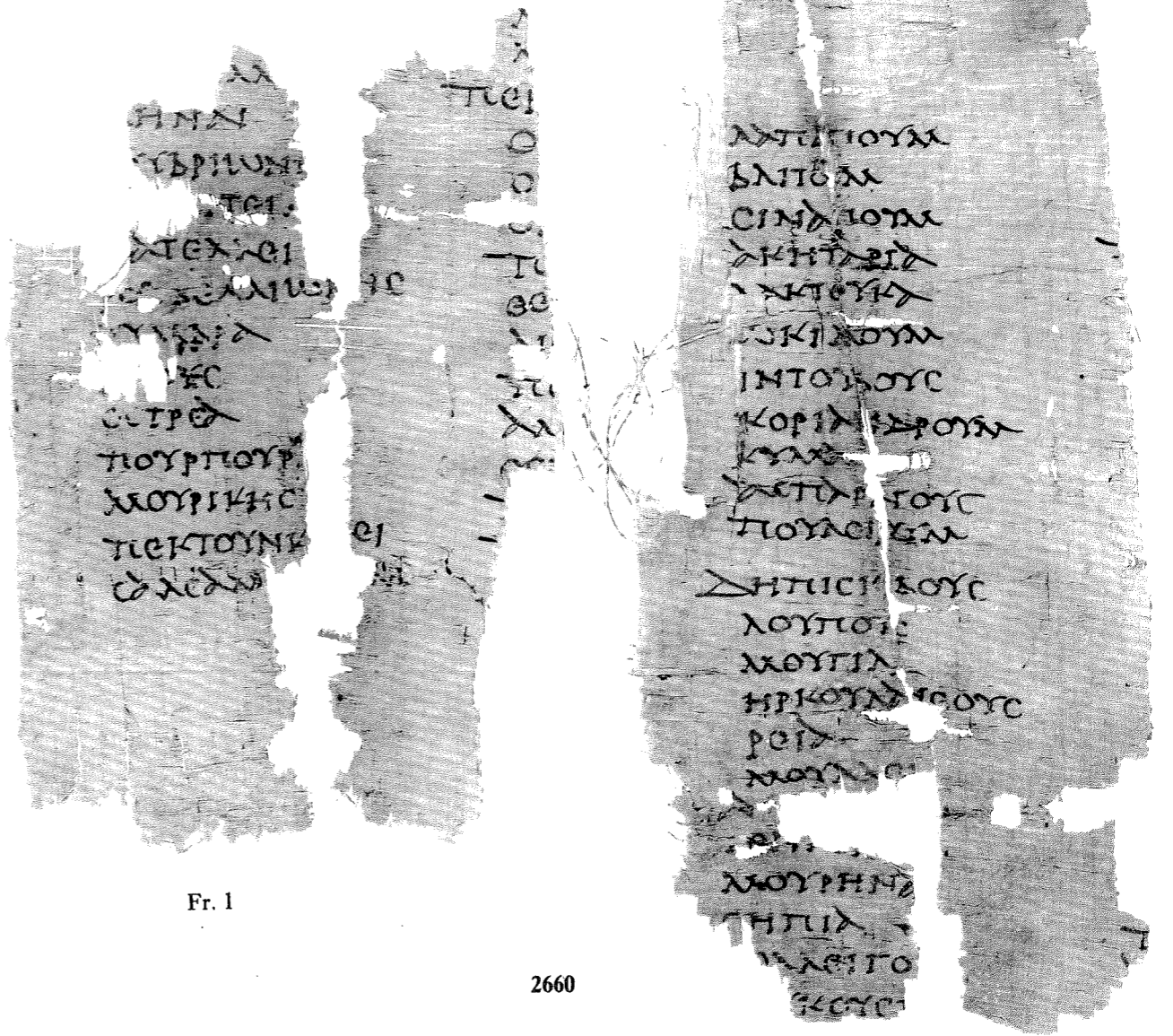


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